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JUNE, 1952
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SOCIAL ORDER

U. S. Bishops' Social Teaching

Wilfrid Parsons

Riding the Whirlwind

Horacio de la Costa

Legal Aid in America

Robert F. Drinan

Scientific Social Reform

William A. Nolan

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Vol. II

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SOCIAL ORDER

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... just a few things:

ORDINARILY WE DO NOT reprint articles in SOCIAL ORDER. However, the clarity and vigor of Father de la Costa's analysis of the present state of the Orient (which originally appeared in the *Sunday Times Magazine*, Manila, Philippines) made precedent breaking imperative.

He presents a brief picture of the upheaval—in the most literal sense—of social and political orders throughout the East. Since the close of World War II the terrible outbreaks of violence which have torn Indonesia, the Philippines, parts of India and Pakistan, China, Korea, Malaya, Indo-China are merely the most obvious symptoms of fearful changes taking place beneath. The whole East is living through a nightmare for which the West, including the United States, is primarily responsible.

Not only did European imperial powers dissolve ancient socio-economic and political structures and drain off the wealth of Asia, but Western ideas first fired young intellectuals of the East with thoughts of freedom. Freedom is good, of course, but the farrago of libertarian thought which they assimilated could, as Father de la Costa points out, only inflame to revolution. No colonial nation of the West can absolve itself of a share in this responsibility—as one European writer recently attempted to do:

It is very unjust for the whole of Asia, largely under the influence of American anti-colonialism, to blame Europe for its misery, especially since Europe, despite great delays and individual abuses, has already done much to improve long-standing conditions.

Many factors have contributed to the revolt of the East in the twentieth century: Japan's triumph over Russia

in 1905 and her lightning conquest of the colonial south-east in World War II; Philippines independence—followed quickly by similar steps in India, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia; Communist inflammatory action in the troubled areas (Asiatic nationalist leaders, Thein Pe, Ho Chi-minh, Mao Tsetung, Puran Chander Joshi, Sardjono, Tokuda Kyuichi, Wu Tien-wang, Jorge Frianeza, Prasert Sapsunthorn, form a Marxist litany). But all these forces merely stirred up pre-existing misery and nationalist aspirations.

The whirlwind that is sweeping Asia will drive on until it has destroyed every vestige of Western imperial domination. An Asiatic solidarity has been built up from suffering and oppression; after Philippines independence Carlos P. Romulo said:

It would be disgraceful for us Filipinos, having won our freedom, to remain silent or to stand apart in selfish isolation while the anguished voices of our less fortunate brethren in Asia cry for liberty.

And Nehru has spoken for the whole of the East:

Asia, having suffered greatly in the past from foreign domination and exploitation, is determined to end it. Any attack upon the freedom in any part of Asia affects the rest of this great continent. The mere presence of a colonial regime or of foreign troops in any Asian country is an insult and challenge to Asia.

The potential tragedy is that the genuine blessings which the West can give to Asia will be thrown away with the shackles. Mr. Charles Malik's vigorous exposition of the situation in Asia (see "Worth Reading") points to the dangers for both East and West—and the circumstances of hope. From the Near East and the Far East Mr. Malik and Father de la Costa give us

the same warning—a warning which our western secularized leaders are all too likely to ignore.

THE ARTICLE ON "Scientific Social Reform" indicates some of the manifold ways in which the social sciences can be of use to the Christian social reformer. Father Nolan looks upon them as valuable instruments which can give direction and impetus to good will. The body of his article is an elementary analysis of the techniques and objectives of the social sciences.

FATHER DRINAN, who is a member of the bar in the District of Columbia, has long been interested in the question of legal assistance for the under-privileged. The problem concerns not only those who enter criminal or civil actions with no legal representation whatever, but those who are inadequately represented, and those who are unable to secure counsel for other kinds of legal problems than court matters: wills, debts, titles, etc.

Several proposals have been made to provide legal assistance, including state support of legal-aid bureaus. Father Drinan offers some evaluation of these proposals.

There is a further and vaster question which he does not consider. It has to do with all those who, whether they can afford legal counsel or not, do not realize that it is needed. Thousands each year are duped by swindlers; others suffer serious losses because of ignorance about their rights and opportunities. But this is a problem not of the legal profession and the judicial system but of educators.

WHEN THE SERIES OF articles on the social teachings of various national

hierarchies was planned just two years ago, Father Wilfrid Parsons graciously agreed to undertake the major job of gathering and ordering the really huge body of teachings which our American bishops have jointly communicated to us. For the task of preparing an authoritative article of this kind, Father Parsons was easily the peer of the other national authorities who have summarized for us the social teachings of hierarchies in Australia, Brazil, France, the Netherlands, Spain—and those in the other countries still to follow in the series. During the years when many of the most significant documents appeared, Father Parsons, as editor of *America*, was vitally interested in their contents and in their dissemination throughout the country. In more recent times he has been in Washington, at Georgetown and Catholic Universities, in close contact with the National Catholic Welfare Conference whence the documents issue.

Delay in printing his article has been fortunate since it has given Father Parsons the opportunity to examine the full, official body of pastoral statements issued by the American hierarchy in the splendid collection edited by Rev. Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M.Conv., and published by the Bruce Publishing Co., in Milwaukee. This collection should be at the elbow of anyone interested in Catholic social thought and action in the United States.

WE ARE REPRINTING Father Parsons' article on the Social Thought of the American Hierarchy as an attractive booklet. Copies will be available by the time this issue reaches you. Prices: Single Copy, 25c; five copies, \$1.00; fifty copies, \$9.00; one hundred copies, \$15.00.

F.J.C., S.J.

If Western influence and ideas, having unleashed the Asiatic revolution which is destroying ancient institutions, fail to fill the resultant vacuum, Communism will.

RIDING THE WHIRLWIND

Western Influence Precipitated Social Revolution in Asia

HORACIO DE LA COSTA, S.J.

Ateneo de Manila, Philippines

HERE was a time, not very long ago, when we used to refer to outbreaks of violence in the Far East as "incidents." It is significant that we no longer do so. We have come to realize that these "incidents" are not isolated local disturbances but ominous manifestations of a vast general upheaval, a social revolution that in varying stages and under diverse forms is taking place in every country in Asia. To understand this revolution—and we must understand it, or, sphinxlike, it may destroy us all—it is necessary to grasp something of the nature of Asian society itself.

Now, the basic fact about Asian society is not merely that it is agrarian, but that it is agrarian in a very special sense. Unlike agrarian societies in other parts of the world, Asian society depends for its very existence on the preservation of a delicate and difficult balance between land and population, between man and nature. This is due to the fact that Asia is characterized by very high concentrations of rice-eating population on a limited supply of land suitable to rice culture.

Centralized State

The traditional Asian solution to this problem has been the prodigal expenditure of human labor, the cheapest and most readily available form of power in the circumstances, on

highly intensive agriculture, or what is known as "garden farming." This simple economic fact has had far-reaching social and economic implications. On the one hand the demands of intensive agriculture, of the desperate back-breaking struggle for a bare subsistence, have given the masses of Asia neither the time nor the ability to participate in government, much less to rule themselves. On the other hand the precarious balance between land and population has demanded a strong, highly centralized, omnicompetent state to protect it from the forces, whether natural or human, which continually threaten to upset it. Only such a state could have undertaken the extensive public works necessary to control the water supply while warding off marauding tribes and maintaining in operation the work cycle of the laboring masses.

Hence the development at the cultural centers of Asia—in China, Japan, Cambodia and Java—of highly centralized bureaucratic empires run by a small specialized class of scholar-officials whose business it was to govern, just as the business of the masses was to labor and to obey. Such was the traditional structure of Asian society: a pyramidal structure of which the Chinese empire offers the most perfect and most ancient example. At the base of the pyramid was the peasantry,

its energies fully engaged in the primitive cultivation of land, with little or no time for anything else; above the peasantry was the land-owning gentry; from the land-owning gentry came the scholar-officials who administered the empire; and at the summit of all was the emperor, whose divine function it was to preserve the equilibrium between land and population, man and nature, heaven and earth.

Revolt After Breakdown

It was a very stable society, all the more stable as it developed a religious philosophical system, Confucianism, which emphasized balance, harmony, the maintenance of the *status quo*, reverence for authority, conservatism. It was stable but not static. The equilibrium was sometimes disturbed, the harmony broken. Natural calamities —floods, droughts, locusts—destroyed the crops. Bad emperors, greedy landlords, grasping officials took more than their share of what the land produced. Then the masses suffered, starved, died. Hungry farmers turned outlaws; barbarians poured in through the unguarded frontier, burning and looting; the sacred work cycle stopped; there was no one to adjust the earthly calendar with the heavenly — and there was chaos.

But for this, too, the system made provision. Formulated in China, the device for restoring equilibrium to a disturbed society was adopted in varying measures throughout the Far East. When such disasters occurred, the ruler was said to lose the mandate of heaven. Rebellion was then permissible, and the successful rebel, by the very fact of his success, received the mandate and founded a new dynasty. Thus, although dynasty succeeded dynasty, the system survived. It survived for almost four millenia until the coming of Western man, who brought, not merely a new dynasty, nor even a new empire, but revolution.

Western Ideas Arrive

For the spiritual baggage of Europeans who came to make their fortunes in Asia contained material of a highly explosive nature. In the first place, new ideas: Christianity, with its emphasis on the human person, his rights and freedoms, valid even against the state; Western science, with its concept of a universe governed not by capricious gods but by determinable laws, laws which man can formulate and even to some extent utilize; popular government, based on the revolutionary notion that rulers are actually responsible to the ruled. In the second place, new tools: new and better and faster ways of doing things, the highly developed technics of Western industry, commerce, medicine, making possible epidemic control, mass production, mines, factories.

All this built up to a terrific impact which unhinged the age-old cycle of Asian history and rocked the very foundations of Asian society.

In Southeast Asia, colonial regimes established by the European powers replaced the native ruling class, changed the economy from one of subsistence to one of export, developed an industrial proletariat of landless laborers, an intellectual proletariat of colonial subordinates, and by stimulating mass migrations created minority problems.

In China, the peak of the Western impact coincided with dynastic decline. It hastened the fall of the Manchu dynasty but prevented the rise of another. The harmony between man and nature was lost, for no one had the mandate of heaven; while warlords, westernized messiahs and ephemeral republics sought in vain for a mandate from the people.

The ancient equilibrium was similarly upset in Japan. The penniless *samurai* class brought off the most gigantic *judo* trick in history by riding with the Western impact which brought down the Tokugawa power, capturing that power for themselves, and then

by frantic westernization, building up more and more power, until they were mighty enough to turn against the West.

Mighty Revolt Rises

And what is the net result of this terrific impact of the Western world on Asian society? Something akin to an atomic explosion. Dark unpredictable forces, knocked out of their ancient orbits in the inert mass of Asia, have set off a chain reaction which is detonating all about us today; or, to lay aside metaphor, a vast social revolution, a process of rapid and violent change in the very structure of society, has developed and will continue to run its chaotic course until some new principle of equilibrium, some fresh social synthesis replaces that by which Asia has lived for centuries.

Our present problem, then, is to find this new synthesis whereby antitheses of revolution can be resolved. What are the terms of this new problem? It is still basically an economic one, the age-old Asian riddle of how to strike a balance between population and resources, how to harmonize man and nature. But new complicating factors make it vastly more difficult than it ever was to Master K'ung or the architects of the Tokugawa system. Improved medical and public health facilities by Western methods continually increase the rate of population growth and hence the pressure on the land. As a result, industrialization has already become a vital necessity among people who are as yet incapable of it. The plantation economies left by receding colonial empires provide another paradox: that of whole regions unable to produce enough food for themselves because they are geared to the production of an export crop which they can no longer sell.

Seek Political Control

All this adds up for the Asian masses to just one simple and stark con-

clusion: less and less work, less and less food, more and more people. We have mentioned that the classic Asian remedy for this is to overthrow the government, for it was precisely the business of government in traditional Asian society to maintain the balance between man and nature. But now the peoples of Asia, influenced by Western ideas, are seeking not merely to replace governments but to control them. These governments, on the other hand, composed as they are of the native aristocracies, landowners, *compradores*, former employees of the colonial civil service, are not exactly willing to be controlled. Thus the withdrawal of the European colonizing powers has left a power vacuum, to fill which, a bitter struggle is in progress in almost every country of Asia.

But even more important than this power vacuum is the spiritual vacuum created by the Western impact. Western ideas have acted not merely as explosives but as solvents. They have undermined the traditional beliefs and philosophies of Asia but have not succeeded in proposing any view of life or scale of values acceptable to the majority of Asians. In place of the old faiths, they have substituted merely doubts. This is not to be wondered at since the liberal West, because of its rejection of Christianity, is itself without a faith of its own. Indeed, it no longer has even a consistent rational basis for the rights and freedoms which it professes to defend and teach. With unconscious, but suicidal contradiction, it calls upon Asia to accept the inviolability of the human person, the sovereignty inherent in the people, the sanctity of treaties, the rule of law, and at the same time casts doubts or heaps derision on the Christian faith and rational philosophy without which these principles cease to be valid or even intelligible. That is why you cannot blame Asian liberals who have learned their liberalism from a de-

christianized and doubting Europe for refusing to die in defense of liberalism. Why should they, indeed? Men die for a faith; they will not die for a doubt.

Communists Fill Vacuum

A whirlwind is sweeping over Asia; but the heart of it, like the center of a typhoon, is a vacuum: a power vacuum and a spiritual vacuum. Whoever fills this vacuum rides the whirlwind and becomes master of Asia. And there you have the Communist strategy in Asia in a nutshell. To ride the whirlwind; to fill the power vacuum with its leadership, the spiritual vacuum with its militant faith, and having thus placed itself at the center of Asia's social revolution, to harness it to its own ends.

Let us note carefully wherein our analysis differs from that of Communist propaganda. Communists claim the credit for starting the revolution in Asian society. But the facts are against them. Rizal and Sun Yat-sen raised the standards of that revolution years before Communism was born. The Communists merely took advantage of a movement they did not begin. Again, they claim that the objectives of Asia's revolution are Communist. They are not. These objectives are essentially those of the free world: a fair deal for the workingman and the peasant, popular control of government, peace and order in a free society. What the Communists have done is to maneuver the free world, and especially the imperialist powers, into seeming to be against these objectives in Asia while setting themselves up.

Must Direct Revolt

And yet the whole peril of the present situation is that so many people take the Communists at their own valuation, and propose to fight them on their own grounds. There is nothing the Communists would like better. They have striven mightily to identify themselves with the masses of Asia because

they know that the masses in movement are irresistible. You cannot stop a social revolution. You may as well try to block a whirlwind.

Yet that is precisely what certain conservative governments in Asia are trying to do today. They are opposing measures of social reform, relying on brute force to preserve existing arrangements, on the grounds that all such measures of reform are Communist-inspired and any concession made to the masses is a step nearer to Communist domination. They fail to see that by acting thus they are playing right into Communist hands. They are proving the Communist thesis that all non-Communist governments are by that very fact governments against the people. They are convincing the masses, as not even the Communists can convince them, that the only hope for social justice lies in class warfare under Communist leadership. They are helping Communism in the most efficacious manner possible to fill the power vacuum in Asia.

Need Devoted Leaders

There is only one way to fight the Communists, and that is to beat them at their own game. We must go to the masses, as the Communists have gone to the masses and show them, by works and not by words alone, that their hope does not lie with Russia but with us. It is useless, besides being unjust, to try to stop social change in Asia. That is not the issue. The issue is, who is to control that change? Who is to direct it? Who is to ride the whirlwind? The Communists or the men who are for freedom? That is the essential problem; a problem of control; a problem of leadership. If we cannot produce leaders as intelligent, as devoted, as selfless, as heroic as Communism has been able to produce in Asia, we shall fail.

In order to produce this sort of leadership liberalism does not suffice. Noth-

ing could be less forceful than the kind of liberalism that is sometimes referred to as a "third force" in Asian affairs. For what does it consist in? It is a set, not so much of principles as of working hypotheses, of provisional conclusions, a tissue of "ifs" and "buts", a "climate of opinion"; not a positive philosophy but a temper of mind, what is called the "rationalist" temper, sceptical, cynical, in mortal fear of the absolute, impatient of discipline, never quite making up its mind; quick to perceive the flaw in everything, slow to perceive the worth of anything, seldom acting with decision, half paralyzed with doubt even while it acts; a feeble force, this, which not only tires easily but, like the ne'er-do-well of the story, is born tired.

And what is this adversary it has to grapple with? What is Communism? It is a faith. A climate of opinion is powerless against a faith. You must

have a faith to fight a faith, and to conquer a faith you must have a stronger and a truer faith. Liberalism then, is not enough. We must have some other rock on which to stand, some other well from which men may draw not doubts but living water; not just hypotheses but the truth.

It is the personal conviction of the present writer that Catholicism is that rock and the source of that living water; that if liberalism is bankrupt today, it is because it has rejected the ancient faith by which it lived. And it is more than a personal conviction, it is a tradition in the missionary order to which he belongs that the Catholic Faith is not a Western thing but a human thing, and all the more human because it is divine in origin; that it belongs fully as much to Asia as to Europe; and that properly presented it can be the answer. Indeed, it is the *only* answer to the deepest aspirations of the Asian man.

The Need for Roots

To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul. It is one of the hardest to define. A human being has roots by virtue of his real, active and natural participation in the life of the community, which preserves in living shape certain particular treasures of the past and certain expectations for the future. This participation is a natural one, in the sense that it is automatically brought about by place, conditions of birth, profession and social surroundings. Every human being needs to have multiple roots. It is necessary for him to draw well-nigh the whole of his moral, intellectual and spiritual life by the way of the environment of which he forms a natural part.

SIMONE WEIL

A recent survey of legal aid for needy persons in the United States indicates that thousands facing trial or requiring counsel fail to secure legal assistance every year.

LEGAL AID IN AMERICA

Defence and Counsel for the Needy

ROBERT F. DRINAN, S.J., LL.B.

Weston College, Weston, Mass.

IS LEGAL aid and advice one of those necessities of life which the welfare state of the twentieth century should guarantee to all citizens? Every major nation of the West except the United States has answered "yes" to that question and has assumed to some extent the obligation of providing legal aid in civil and criminal cases to indigent persons.

The question of the availability of legal aid in America has not yet entered the national social consciousness as have the problems of universal medical aid or the other services of the welfare state. But with the publication of the definitive *Legal Aid in the United States* by Emery A. Brownell¹ the nation is presented for the first time with all the facts needed to make valid judgments on the availability of legal aid in America. At this moment of history when the nation boasts to the world that every American citizen has equal rights before the bar of justice it is indeed appropriate to investigate and discuss the issue of the availability of legal aid in the United States.

Mr. Brownell will shatter the complacency of the uninformed by his con-

clusion that private legal aid bureaus have made no substantial progress in bettering the coverage of thirty years ago. Mr. Brownell's report, moreover, supports the prediction of Harrison Tweed, the president of the National Legal Aid Association, who in the preface to this challenging book, states that unless the deficiencies of the present situation are promptly met the "government will take over both the financing and administration" of legal aid work.

The American Bar Association has always vehemently opposed any governmental intervention in the field of legal aid. The National Lawyers' Guild on the other hand, the more youthful and "liberal" professional association of lawyers, recently passed a resolution advocating Federal and state laws to subsidize legal aid societies. Opposition to most forms of state intervention into this problem seems to be strong enough to prevent any state assistance for the legally indigent, yet the unimpeachable conclusions of Mr. Brownell's report will undoubtedly intensify the general dissatisfaction of those who are at all familiar with the manner in which the private legal aid societies operate. The American Bar Association officials have pledged themselves to rectify the tragic situation exposed in Brownell's book. Informed public opinion should insist that the legal profession carry out this pledge.

¹ Lawyers' Cooperative Publishing Co., Rochester, N. Y., 1951, 333 pp., \$4.50. This study was subsidized by the Survey of the Legal Profession which the American Bar Association has sponsored. The author is the executive director of the National Legal Aid Association.

History of Legal Aid

Volunteer lawyers started the first legal aid societies in this country early in this century when masses of urban factory workers became the subjects of an ever more complex body of industrial law. The first survey of the legal aid movement was done by Reginald Heber Smith in 1916. His classic report, *Justice and the Poor*, revealed that only 41 legal aid organizations were in operation, all of them in the largest cities and most of them severely understaffed. On the basis of his study Mr. Smith estimated that only one-third of those who needed free legal aid ever received such assistance. The conclusions of Mr. Smith's report inspired the American Bar Association in 1917 to adopt a resolution which assumed for the legal profession the responsibility of providing adequate care for all citizens regardless of their ability to pay. The A.B.A. has through the years continued to reassert this pledge, adding to it in later years the resolution that the A.B.A. was opposed to state aid for the legally indigent in any form. In the light of Brownell's study, the A.B.A. must, it seems, modify that position to some extent because the problem of caring for the legally indigent is, as Mr. Brownell clearly indicates, beyond the capacity of the legal profession, just as the care of the medically indigent is, as everyone admits, beyond the power of the medical profession.

War Caused Progress

Despite the good intentions of the legal profession small progress was made in the field of free legal aid during the two decades that followed the publication of Mr. Smith's report in 1916. The need for such services, however, increased enormously because of the multiplication of social and industrial legislation.

The free legal service offered by the United States government to all service men during World War II brought an unprecedented stimulant to the legal

aid movement. For the first time in American history millions of citizens realized that they could profitably use legal advice on their family, their property, their future. It was not surprising consequently that after 1945 demands on legal aid offices increased as never before. The demand for such legal help, however, far outstrips the present capacity of the volunteer groups who operate some 75 legal aid offices on a budget of \$1.5 million annually. Indeed the inadequacies of this very uncoordinated and understaffed chain of legal aid organizations can be characterized as nothing less than shocking. Both in criminal and civil cases the legally indigent receive treatment which at best is inadequate, at worst is disgraceful.

Legal Aid in Criminal Cases

The impecunious person accused of crime is likely to have a difficult time during his day in court. Fewer than half the counties in the nation provide paid counsel to indigent defendants. In 1947 about 97,000 persons who could not afford a lawyer faced prosecution on serious criminal charges. Not more than 22,000 of these were assisted by public or voluntary defender organizations; perhaps 36,000 received the frequently inexperienced services of assigned public counsel, and at least 38,000 tried to defend themselves in the strange and frightening atmosphere of a police station or a court room.

About a third of the 97,000 legally indigent persons charged with serious crime had to rely on the assignment of unpaid counsel, a plan for legal aid which has been castigated by virtually everyone within the legal profession and outside it. Said Mr. Smith in his *Justice and the Poor* in 1916: "the assignment system is a dismal failure and sometimes worse than a failure." The late Justice Wiley Rutledge called the practice of assigning unpaid counsel "a barbarous system." Judge Augustus Hand, after a thorough investigation of

the assignment system in the Federal courts, reported it an utter failure in that forum.

Disadvantages

Among the several limitations of the assigned counsel plan are these: inexperienced lawyers take the case to gain prestige, attorneys busy with other matters are assigned to a case for which they do not have time and, most significant, the laws of the various states provide for such assigned counsel in too few cases. In eight states counsel is assigned by law only in capital offenses. Of 33 cities with populations over 100,000 in these states only three furnish any facilities for free legal aid from private agencies for those accused of crime. In the other forty states assignment of counsel is more often discretionary with the court than mandatory. Very frequently, furthermore, the accused is presumed to have waived counsel unless he explicitly requests it—which most detained suspects never think of doing. Only 23 states provide for any compensation for attorneys assigned to impecunious defendants in other than capital cases.

The most promising alternative to the assigned counsel plan is the establishment of 28 urban public or voluntary defenders. The largest and best of these is that of the Los Angeles County Public Defender; this office with a tax-supported staff of 22 civil service employees defends all indigent persons accused of crime in Los Angeles. The plan has won the approbation of all the social agencies of the area, including the Bar Association. A few *private* Defender offices have been opened, the largest one in New York (supported in part by the New York Bar Association). It is interesting to note that this agency has consistently refused to accept offers of financial help from the city government.

The whole theory of having a *Public Defender* for poor defendants has, however, been a controversial topic among

lawyers. The main objections seem to be these: 1. the Defender is a state employee and will tend to favor the state rather than the accused; 2. the accused should have the right to choose his own counsel and 3. such linking of the administration of justice with the state will lead to graft and corruption. The better view of the Defender system, however, seems to be that it is at present the best alternative to the assignment plan; Mr. Brownell takes this view and shows with cogent evidence that the Public Defender system is worth trying. This system has grown with great rapidity in the last few years but only about 13 per cent of the legally indigent accused of serious crime are currently helped by the Defender system.

Assistance in Civil Cases

The figures for legal aid to the poor in civil cases once again present a picture of inadequate and understaffed offices. In 1947 organized legal aid handled some 265,000 cases but in over half of these simple advice or reference to another agency was the limit of the service rendered. Computing the number of persons in urban areas and their average income in relation to standard lawyer's fees the legal aid societies met perhaps half of the needs in the cities where they are located. But in about 60 cities with a population over 100,000 there is *no legal aid bureau at all*. To remedy this latter condition must be the first task of the legal profession, says Mr. Brownell and all other writers on this topic, if the profession cares to vindicate the sincerity of its pledge that no citizen for financial reasons will go without legal aid.

A survey of 17 executives in the legal aid movement has revealed that their average estimate of the civil cases that go unserved annually because of inadequate existing facilities comes to about 64,000. This estimate furthermore does not include all the cases which legal aid bureaus *never* handle.

Many of these bureaus can accept only those matters which can be settled out of court; not all agencies can handle cases involving marriage, adoption, personal injury or workmen's compensation.

These deficiencies on the civil side of justice may at first sight appear to be less serious than the inadequacies in the administration of criminal law. But when we note that two of the commonest complaints to legal aid groups involve wages illegally withheld and rent-gouging above the legal maximum, we begin to understand that thousands of citizens are subject to these harsh injustices—among many others—without any possibility of legal redress. It is not a pleasing picture in a nation on whose Great Seal is written the motto: "Fiat Justitia, Ruat Coelum" (Let justice be done though the heavens should fall).

Can Lawyers Do It Alone?

Early reaction to Mr. Brownell's report indicates that its readers are first of all shocked that legal aid is so inaccessible to so many. Mr. Brownell estimates that there are 16 million citizens in urban areas who cannot afford counsel when it is needed. Inevitably the question arises: who will pay for the increased services which everyone admits are urgently needed? And at this point the question of legal aid becomes highly controversial. Mr. Brownell brings out the significant fact hitherto unknown—Community Chests at the present time provide 60 per cent of the financial support for private legal aid work. About ten per cent comes from public funds; the clients themselves carry six per cent and the legal profession (individual lawyers and bar associations) contribute only 8.5 per cent of the total. Private charity accounts for the rest. It is clear, therefore, that the legal aid movement is hardly the work of the legal profession, at least financially. It is increasingly

the work of those social agencies which aid the sick, the disabled and the poor.

The prominence of Community Chests in legal aid work is a comparatively recent development. Its possibilities, while not yet fully realized, are, by the nature of the case, limited. Legal work does not have that humane appeal which the sick and the homeless do. Community Chests, moreover, are not generally eager to help an organization until it has established itself as a community agency. But even if this type of aid is fully developed it is questionable whether or not adequate legal aid can be given to all without state funds of some sort. Mr. Brownell has presented evidence of the excellent work which tax-supported legal aid agencies have done—without prejudice to the lawyers involved, the clients or legal ethics. His carefully drawn conclusions seem to favor that type of aid to some extent. Whether the legal profession will accept this lead or go its traditional way remains to be seen. What is certain is that unless the legal profession acts and acts promptly there will be a mounting tide of public opinion in favor of some type of state intervention into the question of society's imperious duty to give every citizen his day in court.

The State and Legal Aid

The enactment of the British Legal Aid and Advice Act of 1949 supplied the most recent occasion for the American legal profession to restate in emphatic terms its opposition to any form of government aid to the legally indigent. There is hardly space here to discuss the vast question of the value of that Act but suffice it to say that it won the prior approval of the organized legal profession in England as well as that of both the Conservative and Labor parties, and that it has been one of the least publicized, least controversial and most efficient of all the

social welfare measures enacted by the Labor government.² The British plan followed to some extent the various schemes in practice on the continent for two generations, by which the legally indigent receive without cost counsel and court fees. These several plans differ much depending on the traditional place of the attorney in the judicial scheme, the division of jurisdiction between the courts and many other factors.³ But the central point

² A careful explanation of how the Act works and a copious bibliography may be found in Warren Freedman, "The Legal Profession and Socialization: A Reply to Dean Robert G. Storey," *American Bar Association Journal*, 37 (May, 1951) 333ff.

³ The best brief summary of continental

of them all is the assumption of responsibility by the state for the legally indigent. This principle has not yet begun to be discussed in the United States.

The vast Survey of the Legal Profession conducted over a period of five years by the American Bar Association is now drawing to a close. Its final reports will be issued within the near future. And after that will come the appropriate action promised and pledged by the leaders of the American Bar. That action must include a resolution *implemented by realistic means* that the legally indigent in the United States shall no longer suffer injustice.

plans is "Legal Assistance Abroad," by Eric F. Schweinburg, *Chicago University Law Review*, 17 (Winter, 1950) 270-93.

Historic Role of Marxism

There are grounds for the conclusion that Communism's providential role is that of compelling the idea of a Christian civilization to realize itself, to descend from its former habitat in the minds of theorists and the ivory castles of vocational groups and seek concrete expression in the life of the everyday world. It is the historic challenge to the West to attain the maturity of full self-consciousness. The Western and Communist way of life deny each other's presuppositions; hence they admit of no effective theoretical discussion; the dispute must be conducted in "the light of common day." By raising the momentous questions as to the meaning of human existence, and providing their own answers in terms of life as it is lived, Communism has broken down the barriers behind which men seek to shield themselves from ultimate reality. For this service at least we may be grateful.

AELRED GRAHAM

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INCE the days of Leo XIII, the popes have been encouraging Catholics to take an active interest in social, economic and political affairs. Specifically, they have exhorted not only priests, but also all zealous-minded people to promote the social apostolate of the Church.

While this social apostolate is much broader in scope than the use of the social sciences, nevertheless its complete success cannot be achieved without them. Mere good will and common sense are not enough to meet the almost overwhelming problems of modern society. What St. Teresa of Avila observed about spiritual direction applies equally to the social apostolate of the Catholic Church: a well-informed person is much more valuable to others than one who, though personally holy, lacks skill in ascetical guidance.

Precise Knowledge Needed

Modern society gives rise to situations that cannot be ameliorated merely by well-intentioned, but inadequately informed, common sense. Take, for example, problems of married life.¹ It is not enough to tell people to say their prayers and then everything will work out happily according to God's will. Since grace builds upon nature, well-established scientific solutions to marital difficulties cannot be ignored—e.g.,

¹ Rex A. Skidmore and Anthon S. Cannon, *Building Your Marriage*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1951. A sound work written in an attractive style and equipped with copious references to all the leading literature in the field.

Modern social sciences, with data and working principles drawn from them, should be invaluable tools in the hands of those active in the Catholic social apostolate.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL REFORM

Social Science and the Catholic Social Apostolate

WILLIAM A. NOLAN

Institute of Social Order

in preventing an ill-suited match and, after marriage, in facilitating sound personal adjustments. Neither is love alone sufficient for the proper rearing of children. Modern social science has learned a great deal about ways to assure the normal development of a child —ways which are not at all incompatible with trust in God.

Moreover, most problems of modern society are too complicated to yield to a simple common sense solution. One such instance is the field of labor relations.² Since neither labor nor management is all-white or all-black, careful study is required to determine how each can best be employed in order to achieve industrial peace. Neither can we stop Communism just by being against it. Among other things, we must be able to distinguish true liberalism from subversiveness and reaction, as J. Edgar Hoover has thoughtfully pointed out.³ Such precise knowledge is not come by casually or through the perusal of one or other popular article.

Again, lack of scientific information about other nationalities which share this earth with us has not only betrayed American diplomacy into making costly

² Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrial Relations and the Social Order*, Macmillan, New York, 1946.

³ For a long list of differences between Communists and liberals, see Herbert A. Philbrick, *I Led 3 Lives*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1952, Appendix II. For the ultimate basis of true liberalism, see Emmet John Hughes, *The Church and the Liberal Society*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1944, Chapter XV: "The Faith of Democracy."

blunders in the past, but will continue to do so, unless we try harder to understand that other races and peoples have just as much right as we have to be what they are and to act as they do.⁴

Role of Social Sciences

Such situations are but a few among thousands which good will and common sense alone cannot solve. In the present article, an attempt will be made to outline some of the more general contributions which the social sciences can make to the social apostolate of the Catholic Church.

Let us begin by describing briefly what the word "science" means. Taken in its simplest terms, science is only expanded and improved common sense. This refinement of common sense is achieved by being more systematic, more precise and by seeking after the causes of things. While some social scientists still accept David Hume's shallow explanation of causality as nothing more than an invariable antecedent-consequent relationship, an increasing number describe social causality in terms which approximate the traditional Aristotelian-scholastic definition—i.e., a cause is something which truly affects or "influences" the being upon which or in which it operates.

⁴ Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek (eds.), *One America*, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1949, contends that insufficient attention to the impact of our own national minorities has hindered the progress of cultural democracy in this country.

⁵ Robert M. MacIver, *Social Causation*, Ginn and Co., Boston, 1942, Chapter II: "Vindication of the Principle." On page 59 MacIver incisively comments upon the contradictions within Hume's argument: "If Hume convinced me that he was right about the lack of evidence on which to base the concept of causation, he would have proved himself wrong, since it was his reasoning which caused me to change my mind. My change of mind and his reasoning would no longer be merely 'one thing followed by another.'" Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Sociocultural*

For example, there is a trend towards attributing human actions to the will rather than to interpret them as the consequence of conditioned reflexes.⁶

Based on Observation

Like the physical sciences, all worthwhile social research is empirical in character, since it describes actual experience. True, philosophy also describes experience and is, therefore, empirical. On the other hand, the manner in which scholastic philosophy is sometimes taught makes it look non-empirical. There are two main reasons for the so-called a priori approach of some contemporary scholastic philosophy. First, scholastic philosophy is a highly developed science, which long ago achieved a level of perfection towards which the social sciences are now, often uncertainly, groping. Secondly, the experiences upon which philosophy relies can be observed without employing the complicated methods so frequently demanded by worthwhile social research.

Granted, then, that the social sciences are true science in the sense already indicated, we may now inquire as to what the word "social" embraces. Under the term "social sciences" are included such fields of study as psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science and also history, if it emphasizes trends and movements rather than individual biographies. In other words, the social sciences are those areas of research which deal with collective human behavior in a highly empirical way.

Relatively New

Unlike philosophy and theology, the social sciences have arisen in relatively

Causality, Space, Time, Duke University Press, Durham, 1943, provides another highly technical analysis of the inadequacies of "antecedent-consequent" theories of "causality."

⁶ MacIver, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII: "Cause as Responsible Agent."

recent times. Many of them are still in their infancy. Neither are they so clearly distinguished from one another as are the various branches of philosophy and theology. Moreover, restrictions intrinsic to their methods and goals will probably keep them from ever attaining the precision of philosophical and theological science. But these are not sound reasons for rejecting them. A patient wants his doctor to use the most helpful treatment available at the moment and not to wait for the distant discovery of the ideal wonder drug.

Another important thing to note about the social sciences is that they do not deal with ultimates, but postulate a sound philosophy of man. Many non-Catholic social scientists deny this fact in theory or, at least, in practice. The result is that much contemporary social research has no value. It is really not empirical at all, because it refuses to face experience. Some Catholics who are well aware of this limitation of much "positive" social science make the mistake of rejecting highly useful techniques, merely because they have been applied to the wrong thing—in this instance, to an erroneous phantasm of human nature. If we are to realize the goals of the social apostolate for which the sovereign pontiffs have earnestly pleaded, we must learn to separate the wheat from the chaff in the fields of contemporary social science.

Techniques Employed

What are some of the more general methods of the social sciences which the apostolic Catholic could do well to learn? Obviously, each particular social science has its own special techniques. On the other hand, there are some methods which are common to all the social sciences. These latter proceed through four main stages.

1. Describe the facts.
2. Generalize on the facts, *if it can be done.*

3. Evaluate the facts.

4. Make a plan based upon the facts.

Under "describing the facts" come two main subdivisions: a. preliminary operations; b. find the facts. The preliminary operations are three in number: 1. limit the objective to be sought after; 2. decide upon enough definitions to get the project under way and to make the study fruitful. As can be readily seen, steps one and two are essential to any kind of precise work. The third step, however, can be omitted, though it has often proved of great value in furthering the search for scientific knowledge. It consists of formulating a working hypothesis, or tentative assumption, which will give direction to the project and prevent the researcher from wandering off into unprofitable by-paths.

Problems of Development

The use of a working hypothesis is not without its dangers, since it may blind the student to other possibilities. For example, the erroneous working hypothesis that there should be only one fundamental cause for all reality impeded the development of philosophical science for several centuries. If scholastic philosophy appears to get along without working hypotheses, it is only because the assumptions of scholastic philosophy were verified long ago. The infant social sciences, on the other hand, must risk making mistakes in order to make progress.

Finding the facts needed in the social sciences is a much more difficult matter than many people whose training has been predominantly along philosophical and theological lines are inclined to suspect. By proceeding all the way to the universal nature of things, philosophy avoids the pitfalls involved in dealing with particular differences. On the other hand, social science, if it is to make any distinctive contribution, cannot entirely prescind from individ-

ual and group differences. Accurate and useful description of these differences calls for the use of many and varied techniques, such as tests, questionnaires, controlled interviews, sampling and case histories. Since space will not permit discussion of these methods, the reader is referred to Pauline Young's *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*, a work which has stood the test of time.⁷ Without these methods, much information indispensable to human progress would remain unobtainable.

Why So Difficult?

At this point, the reader may raise a legitimate objection as to why the methods and the vocabulary of the social sciences are so often complicated and obscure. One good reason for this frequently recurring situation is that, up to the present, nobody has been able to think up less complicated ways of doing the job. The need for a simple technique does not necessarily create it. Many medical operations which today are simple affairs were once very complicated. But nobody would have advised postponement of a necessary operation until a simpler way of performing it could be discovered.

Granted that social scientists have the right to employ complicated techniques and a difficult vocabulary when they have no other means to attain a desirable end, the question still remains: must all social science methods and vocabulary be complicated and obscure? The answer is an emphatic, "No!" Why, then, do many social scientists persist in making simple situa-

⁷ Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1950. This volume contains a most comprehensive bibliography of books and articles on the various social science techniques. See also Wilson Gee, *Social Science Research Methods*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1950, for the inter-relationship of the various social sciences.

tions difficult?

For one reason, many of them are, like scholars in other fields, undemocratic and snobbish in their attitude towards the "lay mind."⁸

Cloaks Defects

Again, some of them make their writing obscure, simply because they do not want ordinary, intelligent people to discover how shallow and unprofitable their work really is.⁹ For example, a social scientist who lacks a sound philosophy of human nature may try to conceal his ignorance or prejudice underneath a fog of impenetrable jargon. In this way, he hopes that his learned obscurantism will pass for advanced scholarship and, at the same time, mask his unwillingness to admit fundamental truths about human existence.¹⁰ There are, of course, many reputable non-Catholic scientists to whom this latter charge does not apply.¹¹

A third reason for this unhappy use of unnecessarily complicated language and technique is that some writers and teachers of social science do not really understand the paraphernalia of their own field. Having been but partially initiated into the esoteric rituals of their favorite professors, they think it smart, or even necessary, to repeat the mumbo-jumbo of their graduate lectures without comprehending its meaning. While too much of what passes for social science is really nothing more than highly involved nonsense, never-

⁸ Joseph A. Brandt, "I Can't Quite Hear You, Doctor," *Harper's*, 192 (March, 1946) 247-51.

⁹ Anthony Standen, *Science Is a Sacred Cow*, Dutton, New York, 1950.

¹⁰ Albert Salomon, "Prophets, Priests and Social Scientists," *Commentary*, 7 (June, 1949), 594-600.

¹¹ For various modern interpretations of man's nature and role in the universe, see John H. Hallowell, *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought*, Henry Holt, New York, 1950, Section IV: "The Crisis of Our Times."

theless an enormous volume of useful information can be salvaged by those who are patient and willing to sift the gold from the dross of contemporary social research.¹²

Generalizing . . .

The second main stage in the methods of the social sciences is generalizing on the facts, *if it can be done*. In other words, arranging particular cases in such a manner that prediction of behavior becomes possible. Social facts do not arrange themselves. The human mind must do that, a task which it can fulfill either qualitatively or quantitatively. That is, the researcher can state his generalizations in descriptive language or he can set them forth in statistical tables. While statistics can easily be misused, without them modern life would be impossible.¹³

In their attempts at generalization, social scientists must try to go beyond particular instances and, on the other

hand, they must not proceed all the way to universal judgments based upon the ultimate nature of things. Leaving total precision to the philosopher, they seek after limited generalizations, which may prove helpful in the amelioration of social conditions. Whereas philosophy deals with man, the social sciences deal with men or, more properly, with groups of men,—for example, migrant farm workers in the South, textile unions in New England, sororities in the Midwest.

Working up from individual persons, the social scientist aims at generalizing about intermediate groups far less comprehensive than that of mankind itself. This effort to stop somewhere between the individual and the universal places upon the social scientist a serious burden which the philosopher need not carry. If too much of the individual is retained, predictive value is lost. And if too much generalization is attempted, the conclusions cease to have usefulness in the formation of a specific social policy.

. . . if it can be done

Another difficulty connected with the process of generalizing is that social scientists may tend to exaggerate its possibilities. Having studied individual cases for a long time, they may be reluctant to admit that the facts do not warrant wide generalizations, with the result that they often "stretch" their conclusions. Readers of works in social science must not reject the solid facts therein described, merely because the conclusions are overdrawn.

Sometimes, publishers with an eye to a wide popular sale of their commodity compel social scientists to make sweeping generalizations upon insufficient data. For example, one such author attempted to predict success or failure in all kinds of marriages from a study of several hundred cases taken entirely from a single social stratum.¹⁴ Intelli-

¹² Particularly enlightening on this point is Dr. Franz Alexander's introduction to Mortimer J. Adler's *What Man Has Made of Man*. His conclusion is that not only students, but also scholarly professors too often lose their perspective: "It is no exaggeration to say that in many scientific centers not the interest in fundamental problems but the fortuitous possession of some new apparatus directs the research work; a new laboratory technique is introduced which spreads like a fad to all laboratories; then everywhere problems are selected which can be approached by this new technique or apparatus. Scientific interest in fundamentals is lost, research is dictated more or less at random by the technical facilities at the worker's disposal." (p. x)

¹³ One of the most outstanding examples of the misuse of the statistical method was that employed in the Kinsey report on the sexual behavior of the human male. The gross, juvenile inaccuracies of this "study" have been thoroughly analyzed by competent statisticians—e. g., W. Allen Wallis, "Statistics of the Kinsey Report," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 44 (December, 1949), 463-84; Paul Wallin, "An Appreciation of Some Methodological Aspects of the Kinsey Report," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (April, 1949), 197-210.

¹⁴ Probably because of their accessibility

gent readers will not be misled by the extravagant statements often made in the first and final chapters of many works in the social sciences.

Prescind from Values

The first and second main stages of the social science method are non-normative. That is, they remain neutral so far as any values are concerned. They merely try to answer the question: "What is it?" When the social scientist carefully checks the results of drug addiction upon teen-agers, he does not by that fact approve or disapprove of the habit. Neither is a scientific examination of the causes of prostitution to be understood as a commendation for promiscuous sexual relations. Effective scientific description of social facts is, indeed, nothing more than a precise, impartial analysis of "what is."

In the third main stage of the social science method, evaluation becomes essential.¹⁵ While some social scientists may be content with non-normative research, people who desire to fulfill the popes' command to enter the social apostolate must venture further. They must try to evaluate the facts and to answer the question: "Is it desirable? Is it good?" Social facts can be evaluated from many points of view, among which moral and religious values rank highest. But Catholics must realize that, besides those of ethics and religion, there are other norms which must

to the researchers, non-Catholic college students and graduates have been made the subject of many studies on marriage. This group, however, is too restricted to justify generalizations about the matrimonial customs of the entire American population.

¹⁵ In addition to the vast amount of light which it shed upon the too-long-obscured question of race relations in this country, Gunnar Myrdal's comprehensive study, *An American Dilemma*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1944, highlighted the fact that all sociological research presupposes a value system. Up to that time, many American sociologists had cavalierly brushed aside the problem of

be given due consideration, if the fourth main stage of the social science method is to be successfully attained.

Social policy, or making a scientific plan based upon properly evaluated facts, should be the goal of every apostolic social scientist. As St. Thomas has pointed out, ethics is a practical science ordained to action. Apostolic use of the social sciences can serve as the implementation of ethics and religion in specific social situations.¹⁶

There are some areas of social research which Catholic scholars could most profitably investigate. For example, relatively few Catholics have undertaken an intensive study of psychiatry, a field which has become overcrowded with persons hostile to Christian values. The only way that the Catholic Church can correct this unsalutary situation is to develop many more Catholic psychiatrists, among whom there can well be a large number of priests.

In conclusion, we must remember that apostolic Catholics will learn to use God's natural creatures as well as His grace. Among the natural creatures which Catholics can more profitably employ are the methods of the social sciences. These methods have their merits and their limitations which, in turn, must be both used and criticized. In order to do this properly, apostolic Catholics must know the social sciences thoroughly.

values as incompatible with their brand of "purely objective" research. Myrdal's long methodological notes (pp. 1027-64) proved that these self-styled objective sociologists were, in reality, following a complete system of universally accepted, but universally unacknowledged, values. On this same question, see also the provocative article by Paul Hanly Furfey, "Value Judgments in Sociology," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, 7 (June, 1946), 83-95.

¹⁶ Simon Deploige, *The Conflict between Ethics and Sociology*, Herder, St. Louis, 1938, Chapter XV: "Toward the Solution."

Through thirty years the American hierarchy has outlined a broad, positive social program presented in a valuable collection edited by the Rev. Raphael M. Huber.

SOCIAL THOUGHT OF AMERICAN HIERARCHY

Our Bishops Speak Reviewed

WILFRID PARSONS, S.J.

Catholic University

THIS study deals with the social teachings of our Bishops only since the end of World War I. There is no intention, however, of slighting the illustrious names which will immediately occur to the reader: James Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop John Lancaster Spalding, Archbishop John Ireland and Bishop John J. Keane. Each of these great men spoke out vigorously against the social evils of his time and suggested various reforms. They were particularly active in defending the rights of the workingman.¹ The *Memorial* which Cardinal Gibbons directed in 1887 to Leo XIII in defense of the Knights of Labor is a landmark in our social thought and was written with the help of Ireland and Keane and also of the great English Cardinal Manning. It is said by Leo's official biographer to have considerably influenced the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, "On the Condition of the Working Classes,"² four years later. Certainly there are passages in that famous document which directly echo, if they do not actually quote, Gibbons' *Memorial*.

These pioneers, however, were individual voices crying out each in his own circle. It is true that the Hierarchy issued twelve Pastoral Letters prior to 1919, but these documents, following as they did provincial or Plenary Councils, dealt almost entirely with moral or disciplinary questions within the Church in America.³ It was not until after World War I that the Hierarchy itself began to speak consistently and collectively on social problems. Also, the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has usually issued statements at the end of the Bishops' annual meeting each November. Fortunately for this study, these various documents have now been collected under the title *Our Bishops Speak*, and I wish to express my indebtedness to Fr. Huber's work.⁴ Without it this study could not have been made.

¹ James Cardinal Gibbons, Baltimore, 1916, *A Retrospect of Fifty Years*, 1,190-209. Also, Sister Agnes Claire Schroll, O.S.B., *The Social Thought of John Lancaster Spalding*, Catholic University Press, Washington, 1944. Ireland's contribution has yet to be written. Bishop Keane's is mentioned in the volume of Catholic University which deals with his Rectorship: P. H. Ahern, *The Catholic University of America*, 1949. For a much earlier period, see: C. Joseph Nuesse, *The Social Thought of American Catholics, 1634-1829*, Catholic Uni-

versity Press, 1945. The intermediate period remains to be studied.

² Eduardo Soderini, *The Pontificate of Leo XIII*, London, 1934, pp. 167-79; also, Henry J. Browne, *The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor*, Catholic University Press, 1949.

³ Cf. Peter Guilday, ed., *The National Pastoral of the American Hierarchy*, NCWC, Washington, 1923.

⁴ OUR BISHOPS SPEAK.—By Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M.Conv., ed. Bruce, Milwaukee, 1952, 380 pp. \$6.00.

I. The Social Scene

In 1919, the NCWC Administrative Committee issued the famous "Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction." This was a rather exhaustive examination of the American social scene, and it caused a sensation when it appeared because of its liberal and forward-looking tendencies.⁸ When, on its twentieth anniversary in 1939, a new reprint was issued, Edward Cardinal Mooney in an Introduction listed its eleven principal proposals and pointed out that at that time all but one of them had been wholly or partially "translated into fact." For the record, these were: 1. minimum wage legislation; 2. unemployment, sickness, disability and old age insurance; 3. minimum age limit for child labor; 4. legal enforcement of the right of labor to organize; 5. continuation of the War Labor Board; 6. national employment service; 7. public housing for low-income workers; 8. increased wages, even over war-time levels; 9. regulation of public-utility rates, progressive taxes on inheritance, income and excess profits; 10. participation of labor in management and ownership; 11. control of monopolies, even by government competition.

Cardinal Mooney said that only No. 10 had not been attempted in his time, but events since he wrote have shown progressive steps even in that proposal.

Other capital documents have appeared since that day, especially "The Present Crisis" (April 25, 1933); "Christian Attitude on Social Problems" (November 28, 1937); "The Church and Social Order" (February 7, 1940), and many shorter ones on specific questions down to November, 1951.

Advances in Thought

Examination of these documents shows a marked progression in social thought. The 1919 Program, the Bishops mildly characterized as "practical and moderate," and they expressly disavowed any intention of radical reform. They looked on their proposals as mere remedies for present social evils. After 1931, however, a great change took place. That, of course, was the year in which appeared the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, forty years after *Rerum Novarum*. This was a document of radical reform of society, and our Bishops were not slow to fall in line.

Even in 1919, however, they had roundly criticized the present socio-economic order:

The present system stands in grievous need of considerable modifications and improvement. Its main defects are three: enormous inefficiency and waste in the production and distribution of commodities; insufficient incomes for the great majority of wage earners; and unnecessarily large incomes for a small minority of privileged capitalists.⁹

Later, as we shall see, they went far beyond the limits of the 1919 Program. In November, 1930, at the depth of the Depression, at the instance of the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, Archbishop Edward J. Hanna, Chairman of NCWC, issued a statement on unemployment. He called for "a change of heart" on the part of the country, and stressed the deep spiritual motive for social reform:

Let them [Catholics] look to the long-time, deeper-seated, and harder task of allowing the likeness of the Saviour of the world to shine through our country's economic institutions. Let them begin with their own work and wealth, and their own rela-

⁸ *Our Bishops Speak*, pp. 243-260. Hereafter, this work will be referred to

simply as "Huber."
⁹ Huber, p. 257.

tions to property, to employees, to employers, to customers, to their corporation and organization associates. Let the spirit of Christ shine there.⁷

Apply to America

In April, 1933, they apply the lesson and criticism of *Quadragesimo Anno* to our own conditions:

If we apply to our own country the weighty words of His Holiness, we find that, in common with other nations, we have brought about our present unhappy conditions by divorcing education, industry, politics, business and economics from morality and religion, and by ignoring for long decades the innate dignity of man and trampling on his human rights.

Thus they laid to rest at the very beginning the easy assumption that Pius XI's criticism of the social order might well apply to conditions in Europe but had no relevance here. One more quotation must be given to show how the episcopal minds were running. In a strong statement on "The Degradation of the Family, Demoralization of Youth, and the Corruption of Business," they said on November 15, 1933:

Many of the present evils could, no doubt, have been averted by wise legislation or through prompt governmental intervention, but the people themselves are responsible for the kind of government they got. It was the fault of the voters that municipal government was so often synonymous with fraud, graft, corruption, misappropriation of public funds, and the unholy alliance between criminals and the police; that state governments, through extravagance, piled up impossible tax burdens; and that the Federal Congress squandered public money in such a fashion as to make a balanced budget an impossibility.⁸

But it is time to turn from these generalities (which could be multiplied indefinitely) to the Bishops' treatment of specific social problems. We shall examine them under the headings of II. Social, III. Socio-Economic, IV. Economic, V. Politics and government.

II. Social Problems

1. *The Family* As was to be expected, the family and the home have been of primary interest to the Bishops. "The nursery of Christian life is the Catholic home." These words from the Pastoral Letter of 1919 sound a keynote which will be heard through the years.⁹ But it was not only to Catholics but to all men that their teachings on the family were directed. They parted from many modern sociologists in holding that the family, not the isolated individual, is the basic unit of society. Thus in 1943 they said:

In God's plan the family is a social institution with its own rights and dignity. Its stability, unity and sanctity are as necessary to a right social order as the proper constitution of government itself. If in the family right order prevails and the children are trained in virtue, there is a guarantee for social well-being. Where the state violates family rights and makes light of family stability and parental responsibility, no amount of welfare work carried on or promoted by public authority will adequately provide for social well-being.¹⁰

And again, in 1949:

It [the family] is a divinely founded natural society. It is prior, in existence and in its nature, to every other human society, to every state or nation. It is the basic social unit. It has its own native rights which no civil power can take away or unduly limit. To serve and protect the family and its life, states are formed and governments established.¹¹

⁷ Huber, p. 192.

⁸ Huber, p. 275.

⁹ Huber, p. 301.

¹⁰ Huber, p. 14. This Pastoral Letter is

not to be confused with the 1919 Bishops' Program, which was issued earlier in that year.

¹¹ Huber, p. 118.

¹² Huber, p. 156.

Qualities of Family

During the period under study the Bishops issued two full-length statements on the family, one (November 15, 1933) in which the family was joined with youth and business in a pessimistic survey of American society in depression times, the other on "The Christian Family" (November 21, 1949) which was more positive and more hopeful.¹³

Like all Catholic moralists, the Bishops looked for the welfare of the family to the success of the marriage which gives rise to the family. In an impressive passage of the 1919 Pastoral¹⁴ they summarized succinctly all the arguments and motivations which Catholic social thinkers are wont to advance for the sanctity and stability of the married state. They need not be cited here, but it may be well to know where they may be found.

In the 1949 Statement, which is an unusually systematic treatment of the subject in a document of this kind, they present "the requisites for family life if it is to produce its wondrous benefits in full measure and effectiveness: it must be *permanent* in its establishment and prospects; it must be *free* from unwarranted interventions; it must have *economic security*; it must be *religious*." (Emphasis added.) This discussion will well repay a reading.

2. Women Here, as so often, the keynote for succeeding utterances was sounded in 1919. In the Pastoral of that year there is no wailing over years gone by when woman was, according to the legend, a recluse and never seen in public. The Bishops boldly proclaim that "in society, as in the home, the influence of woman is potent. She rules with the power of gentleness, and, where men are chivalrous, her will is the social law." Then they concede more to women's influence than man's chivalry grants:

The present tendency in all civilized countries is to give woman a larger share in pursuits and occupations that formerly were reserved to men. The sphere of her activity is no longer confined to the home or to her social environment; it includes the learned professions, the field of industry, and the forum of political life. Her ability to meet the hardest of human conditions has been tested by the experience of war; and the world pays tribute, rightfully, to her patriotic spirit, her courage, and her power of restoring what the havoc of war had well-nigh destroyed.¹⁵

Here is none of that obscurantism which many nowadays attribute to the Church with regard to women. The Bishops had accepted wholeheartedly, without reservation, the new status of woman in modern life. In the passage which follows the one just quoted, they discuss just what should be the function of woman, recently emancipated with a vote equal to men's. With equal rights, they say, goes an equal responsibility. But they go farther, saying:

To reach the hearts of men and to take away their bitterness, that they may live henceforth in fellowship one with another—this is woman's vocation in respect of public affairs, and the service which she herself by nature is best fitted to render.¹⁶

Public Role of Women

Thus the Bishops pierced to the heart of the question of equal rights for women, of woman suffrage and of women in public life. Here and elsewhere they cheerfully accept the advent of women in public life. They foresee that the affection of woman will offset the hardness of political strife. Would that their quixotic, if celibate, belief in woman's influence on society outside the family had been realized! They do really seem to have believed that with the coming of woman suffrage our political life would be transformed. And they had such good reasons for their hopes! Alas!

¹³ Huber, pp. 300-04; and pp. 154-60.

¹⁴ Huber, pp. 40-46.

¹⁵ Huber, pp. 45-46.

¹⁶ Huber, p. 46.

Early in World War II, however, the Bishops, in a statement entitled "On Victory and Peace," warned about the employment of women in war industries:

Our government has announced that the war emergency makes it necessary to employ an unprecedented number of women in industry. While we are wholeheartedly cooperating with our government in the prosecution of the war, we must, as shepherds of souls, express our grave concern about the Christian home in our beloved country in these crucial days . . . Every effort must be made to limit, as far as necessity permits, the employment of mothers in industry, particularly young mothers . . . The health and moral welfare of mothers employed in industry should be thoroughly safeguarded. With a full realization of the role which women must play in winning the war and of the extreme measures that our government must take, we ask that all try to realize the dangers involved, especially the moral dangers. We urge that there be a wholesome moral atmosphere wherever women are employed.¹⁷

The warning is valid in peace as well as in war, in a cold war as well as a hot one, and it points up a whole sphere of social action which Christians must undertake. As early as 1919 the Bishops' Program had sounded the same note and also added the urgent advice that women get out of heavy industry as soon as returning veterans were ready to take their place. For those women who did remain at work, they make a characteristic plea: "Those women who are engaged at the same tasks as men should receive equal pay for equal amounts and qualities of work."¹⁸ Obviously, equal rights for woman had no more enthusiastic supporters than our Bishops, even 33 years ago.

3. *Child and Youth* It was inevitable that the Bishops would have their eyes fixed on the social conditions of the younger generation. Naturally, also, much of what they have to say on this subject has to do with the special subject of education (the excellent Index to Father Huber's volume lists 31 separate passages on education.) It is felt, however, that education as such does not belong in these pages and can be treated separately elsewhere.

On the general question, they laid down a fundamental principle in the statement of November 14, 1941. After echoing the warning of the Holy Father against the threat "of false doctrine, immorality, disbelief and reborn paganism," they continue:

The threat is to our youth, above all. Not only must we have a thorough understanding of the thoughts of the youth of our day, of its urge for action, of its fixed purpose to put teaching into practice, but pre-eminently, we must encourage youth to realize the constructive need of Christian doctrine and Christian discipline.¹⁹

Deplore Delinquency

Here is the same note of realism that we remarked when the Bishops were treating of modern woman. "The thoughts of the youth of our day" always remain the inscrutable but necessary fact. The Bishops were also not unaware of the scandal of juvenile delinquency. "It troubles us," they said, "to see in the publication of crime statistics that there is a widespread disrespect for law, particularly in the youth of our country. No greater indictment of our social behaviour could be written." The remedies are two: "the stability and sanctity of the home . . . and moral discipline;" and "a better supervision of recreational activities in our communities."²⁰

The Bishops' position on sex instruction is well known, but it may be summarized here: 1. it should be given; 2. it should be given in the home; 3. group instruction, especially in the schools, is to be resisted. "We protest in the

¹⁷ Huber, p. 112.

¹⁸ Huber, p. 250.

¹⁹ Huber, p. 108.

²⁰ Huber, p. 118.

strongest possible terms against the introduction of sex instruction into the schools. To be of benefit, such instruction must be far broader than the imparting of information, and must be given individually." These words occur in the course of a 1950 statement on "The Child: Citizen of Two Worlds,"²¹ in which are listed four realizations which must be cultivated in the young: "A sense of God, a sense of direction, a sense of responsibility, a sense of mission in this life."

4. Rural Life Statements on this vital sector of our life have for the most part come from the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, composed of Bishops, clergy and laymen. However, on occasion, the Bishops did treat the subject collectively. There is, for instance that passage in the 1919 Program in which, with extraordinary prescience, they outlined the advisability and feasibility of what later came to be known as the CCC camps and their salutary effects in both human and rural rehabilitation.²² Also, in that massive document of April 25, 1933, "On the Present Crisis," there is a significant section devoted to the farm problem.²³ It will be useful to quote a passage from it:

Perhaps the great majority of those living in our cities have not realized that the farm problem is a serious integral part of the national problem; that there can be no permanent restoration of industry on a national scale until the purchasing power of more than thirty million Americans living on the land is materially increased; that the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few has all but crushed agriculture, and has so drained the farm that the farmer finds it increasingly difficult to wrest a decent living from the land; . . . that the wheels of industry in our cities are clogged in no small measure because agriculture lies prostrate.

These ominous words no longer apply, thank God, but their essential truth is undoubted. It may well be argued that the present bettered conditions in agriculture were due to such statements as these and those of many others with the same thoughts. A later passage in the same statement, entitled "Back to the Land," may well be studied.

Condemn Racism

5. Social Pathology Under this heading may be grouped those evils in society which the Bishops were constantly attacking: divorce, birth control, excessive drinking, sex aberrations and racism. Since what Catholics have to say on these subjects is for the most part invariable, it will suffice to point out the places where they treat of them.

Divorce: a section of the Pastoral Letter of 1919 is devoted to this (Huber, p. 43-4). Also, in the statement of 1949 on the Christian Family. (Huber, p. 155).

Birth control: the Bishops issued a short, sharp condemnation of artificial birth control on January 20, 1922 (Huber, p. 263), and referred to it in passing in the statement on Secularism of November 14, 1947 (Huber, p. 140), where planned parenthood is condemned. (Cf. also, Huber, pp. 42, 119).

Excessive drinking: on November 17, 1937, the Bishops released to the press an eight-line statement on "Immoral Films, Unclean Shows, and Unwise Drinking." They voiced their "deep concern over the evils arising from the all-too-prevalent, promiscuous, and unwise use of intoxicating liquors." They feel that the dangers inherent to such intoxicants critically threaten our growing youth. (Huber, p. 218).

Sex: the Bishops were obviously aware of pitfalls, but rarely referred to them explicitly. The most explicit had to do with sex instruction. (Huber, p. 166).

Racism: with the Encyclicals of Pius XI on Nazism and Fascism before them, the Bishops could not do otherwise than condemn manifestations of the same tendencies

²¹ Huber, pp. 161-69; cf. p. 166.

²² Huber, p. 249.

²³ Huber, pp. 282-84.

in America. They echoed his words in a statement of November 14, 1941 (Huber, p. 103); on two occasions they quote the words of Pius XII's Letter to the American Hierarchy (*Sertum Laetitiae*) in which he spoke of our Negroes:

We confess that we feel a special paternal affection which is certainly inspired of heaven for the Negro people dwelling among you; for in the field of religion and education we know that they need special care and comfort and are very deserving of it. We therefore invoke an abundance of heavenly blessing and we pray fruitful success for those whose generous zeal is devoted to their welfare (Huber, pp. 113, 178).

The Bishops go on to say that we owe to the Negroes

a special obligation of justice to see that they have in fact the rights which are given them in our Constitution. This means not only political equality, but also fair economic and educational opportunities, a just share in public-welfare projects, good housing without exploitation, and a full chance for the social advancement of their race.

In 1939, before World War II broke out, they had also gone on record as deplored anti-Jewish prejudice in America, and quoted Pius XI's famous saying: "It is not possible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism" (Huber, p. 323; see also p. 113).

If anyone should conclude that the Bishops' statements condemning evils in society are jejune and few and far between, he would betray an ignorance of their approach to social problems. This approach is anything but negative. It is overwhelmingly concerned with an optimistic and positive program. This also appears on the question of Communism.

6. *Decency in Amusements* This same positive approach also appears in the discussion of popular amusements and recreations. The motion pictures, of course, as our most common form of amusement, came in for most attention. It is essential to note that the movement initiated at Cincinnati on June 21, 1934, under the chairmanship of Archbishop John T. McNicholas, O.P., was a movement for decency. The very name chosen for it, Legion of Decency, shows this fact. On the above date, the Bishops' Committee on Motion Pictures, issued a statement accepting the industry's Production Code and ending with the hope "that the results of the organized industry's renewed efforts looking towards adequate self-regulation will be followed by an adequate moral improvement in the pictures shown."²⁴

III. Socio-Economic Problems

It goes without saying that between the two wars, during the depression, under the New Deal, in World War II, and since, during the cold war, the eyes of the Bishops would be constantly turned toward the human relations involved in the rise and fall and again the rise of American industry. The 1919 Program naturally treats of them; the 1919 Pastoral has a whole section devoted to them; the long 1933 Statement on the Present Crisis likewise; the 1937 Statement on the Christian Attitude on Social Problems, and several shorter documents, including one as late as November, 1951, return to the same theme.

It is not possible to detail here every item of their thought on this subject. In general, it may be said, however, that it falls under three general headings: the rights of labor; the rights of capital (and, of course, the mutual duties of each); and remedies and reforms. We may take these in order.

²⁴ Huber, pp. 202-05. From time to time the Bishops renewed their pleas for de-

cency in popular entertainment. Cf. Huber, pp. 210, 218, 231.

1. *Rights of Labor* From the beginning, there was no hesitation concerning the rights of the worker to organize, to enjoy fair conditions of labor, to earn a family (not merely a living) wage and to be represented by agents of their own choice in settling grievances and disputes. The 1919 Program demanded continuance of the War Labor Board, or something like it, and praised it especially because "its main guiding principles have been a family living wage for all male adult laborers; recognition of the right of labor to organize and to deal with employers through its chosen representatives; and no coercion of nonunion laborers by members of the union." Later in the same document they return to the same subject of the right of labor to organize and say: "It is to be hoped that this right will never again be called in question by any considerable number of employers."²⁵ Those were the days of the company union, and though they do not mention that hateful word, they make no doubt of their opposition to it.

The 1919 Pastoral, later in the year, repeats this teaching and balances it with the correlative rights of employers.

We would call attention to two rights, one of employees and the other of employers, the violation of which contributes largely to the existing unrest and suffering. The first is the right of the workers to form and maintain the kind of organization that is necessary and that will be most effectual in securing their welfare. The second is the right of employers to the faithful observance by the labor unions of all contracts and agreements. The unreasonableness of denying either of these rights is too obvious to require proof or explanation.²⁶

In speaking of the "Present Crisis" in April, 1933, they spell out more fully the functions of unions.

Labor and trades unions offer one means of obtaining justice in wages and salaries. The normal working of such organizations, whether singly or as a federation of unions, should be to promote the general welfare, and to insure for all workers, whether skilled or unskilled, maximum employment, adequate remuneration, the protection of their rights as men and as citizens, and security against accident and indigence.²⁷

Urge Unionization

Thus, again in passing, they come out for two later disputed points: the formation of industrial unions, taking in the unskilled, as well as of craft unions of the skilled; and the establishment of welfare plans as a result of collective bargaining.

Early the next year, when hearings were being held on the forthcoming Wagner Act, parts of *Quadragesimo Anno* had been put in evidence. Encouraged by this, the NCWC Administrative Committee directed Father John J. Burke, C.S.P., to put into the record of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, then chairmanned by David I. Walsh, their own statement upholding the pending bill. In this they said:

The worker's rights to form labor unions and to bargain collectively is as much his right as is his right to participate through delegated representatives in the making of laws which regulate his civic conduct. *Both are inherent rights.*²⁸

Thus once for all the Bishops put the workers' right to organize on the basis of the natural law and on the same level as citizenship. It is known that they were gratified to see this principle pass into law. But in this same statement they went somewhat beyond the Wagner bill's provision for a National Labor Relations Board:

²⁵ Huber, pp. 250-51 and 255.

²⁶ Huber, p. 49.

²⁷ Huber, p. 291.

²⁸ Huber, p. 306. (Emphasis added.)

To determine the rights of both labor and management and to resolve the conflicting claims of both parties, an industrial tribunal, with mediation and arbitration powers, is necessary. This procedure is dictated by the plainest requirements of reason and public order. The opposite is chaos and anarchy.²⁰

What the Bishops had here in mind was apparently something like the present emergency Wage Stabilization Board, but as permanent, and with teeth in it, which the present Board does not have. Apparently, also, the proposal was even in 1933 too controversial to discuss.

Denounce Work Conditions

One whole section of the important 1940 Statement on the Church and Social Order deals with "Property and Labor." This can only be summarized here:

Concentration of capital in modern industry is accepted; but this only intensifies the problem "of providing equitably for the distribution of income between those who supply capital and those who supply labor." Only too often "those . . . who have only their labor to invest have been forced to accept working conditions which are unreasonable and wages which are unfair." The reasons: 1. "labor policies have been dictated by false principles in the interests of owners or capitalists;" 2. "labor frequently has no voice in regulation or adjustment of problems."

False principles are rejected: 1. the subsistence wage, "never widely held in theory, but . . . frequently applied in practice;" 2. the commodity theory, by which wages rise or fall according to supply or demand, stigmatized as "anti-social and anti-Christian;" 3. mere force exercised by labor "by means of a monopoly control," especially if this means that "the net result belongs to labor" and that capital shall be self-renewing, but profitless. "Such proposals . . . are palpably unjust." True principles, as taught by Pius XI are: "social justice, the human dignity of labor, the social nature of economic life, and the interests of the common good."²¹

The right to strike is, of course, implicit in what has been said above on the rights to organize and to bargain. It may be said, however, that the general attitude has been to deplore strikes as perhaps a necessary evil and as implying some fault on the part of labor or of management or of both. Moreover, the 1919 Pastoral had some serious words to say about the epidemic of strikes following World War I. The Bishops call them "unnecessary" and raise the rights of "the public" as distinct from the two parties in dispute.

To assume that the only rights involved in an industrial dispute are those of capital and labor is a radical error. It leads, practically, to the conclusion that at any time and for an indefinite period, even the most necessary products can be withheld from general use until the controversy is settled. In fact, while it lasts, millions of persons are compelled to suffer hardship for want of goods and services which they require for reasonable living. The first step, therefore, toward correcting the evil is to insist that the rights of the community shall prevail, and that no individual claim conflicting with these rights shall be valid.²¹

Rights of Workers

The principle laid down here raises the knotty question of the rightness of strikes where the principal target is not industry or management, but the public itself, because essential services, like public utilities, or products, like coal, gas or oil, are withheld from immediate general use. Evidently, the Bishops did not feel that such strikes were on all fours with other disputes, and so far as I can find, they have not changed their mind on this position. As we shall see, however, they did not feel that any strike is really necessary, but that they are the unhappy result of a maladjusted economic system, which should and can be corrected.

In "The Present Crisis" the bishops thus summed up workers' rights:

²⁰ Huber, *Ibid.*

pp. 330-32.

²¹ Summarized and quoted from Huber, ²¹ Huber, pp. 47-48.

The workingman is entitled to a family wage, which must be an amount sufficient not only to support husband, wife and children in frugal and decent comfort, but to provide against sickness, infirmity, unemployment and old age. His right to organize must not be interfered with. His right to an equitable share in the profits, as a wage earner, must receive due consideration. His right to bequeath and inherit, and his right to employment under normal conditions should be assured.³²

2. Rights of Employers It must not be supposed, however, that the Bishops were exclusively pre-occupied with the rights of workers, though it was natural that these, being the most disputed and the most neglected, should be the most stressed. In all that they wrote certain verities were always assumed: private property, the right of free investment, the profit system, the wage system, freedom from undue taxation; in fact, all that we usually understand by "capitalism" in its abstract sense. They held an unswerving line against Socialism—public ownership of all the means of production—and still more against Communism, as a politico-economic instrument of tyranny. The 1919 Program sums up this attitude:

It seems clear that the present industrial system is destined to last for a long time in its main outlines. That is to say, private ownership of capital is not likely to be supplanted by a collectivist organization of industry at a date sufficiently near to justify any present action based on the hypothesis of its arrival. This forecast we recognize as not only extremely probable, but as highly desirable; for, other objections apart, Socialism would mean bureaucracy, political tyranny, the helplessness of the individual in the ordering of his own life, and in general social inefficiency and decadence.³³

The informed reader will recognize in these last words the usual textbook arguments of the time against Socialism. Later, under the influence of *Quadragesimo Anno* and the depression, the Bishops will recognize that the problems raised by the unrestricted exploitation of private property were not so simple as they might have thought in 1919.

Duties of Workers

In speaking above on the rights of workers, we have seen that the workers must recognize that employers and management, in the opinion of the Bishops, also have rights which must be preserved. Irresponsible strikes, whether "wild-cat" or political, are in general deplored; though it is doubtful, whether, in the light of the principles they laid down, they would have condemned, for instance, the desperate struggle of the New York longshoremen in 1951 to free themselves from the triple strangle-hold of complacent employers, corrupt leadership and racketeers. As a general principle, however, they held, after again asserting the right of labor to organize and "to enforce its just demands by effective means," that

labor should not incur the charge of countenancing coercion and injustice. It is not only unwise but immoral and reprehensible to use physical violence either against fellow-employees or against property. It is both dishonest and destructive of genuine progress for labor to violate contracts freely and honorably negotiated and accepted.³⁴

The duty of employers to pay just wages is often repeated. The 1919 Program, while in one place it demands a legislated minimum wage, in another speaks for a family wage and even modifies that:

After all, a living wage is not necessarily the full measure of justice. All the Catholic authorities on the subject explicitly declare that this is only the minimum

³² Huber, p. 290.

³³ Huber, p. 257.

³⁴ Huber, p. 316.

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of justice. In a country as rich as ours, there are very few cases in which it is possible to prove that the worker would be getting more than that to which he has a right, if he were paid something in excess of this ethical minimum.²⁶

The 1919 Pastoral more or less echoes this thought, though in less detail, and the Bishops repeated the above passage with emphasis in a grave special statement on unemployment in the heart of the depression in 1930.²⁷

In the 1940 statement on "The Church and Social Order," the Bishops devote a whole section to wages. In this they define more sharply the idea of a living wage. By it, they say, they mean one by which the family is supported and also one by which savings for sickness, death, old age, etc., are possible. Thus, they are for both a family and a saving wage. Likewise, they do not consider a living wage one "so low that it must be supplemented by the wage of wife and mother or by the children of the family before it can provide adequate food, clothing and shelter, together with essential spiritual and cultural needs." They recognize, indeed, and discuss at length, the necessary connection between wages and prices. They conclude that "stability in the price level, therefore, and even a reduction of prices as a secular trend, is desirable as one means of distributing our national income more widely and more effectively for the common good."²⁸

Seek Social Reform

3. Remedies and Reforms

We have just seen that among the main remedies offered for our socio-economic evils is a uniformly high and stable level of *wages*. Another which seemed imperative in the 1919 Program included "prevention of monopolistic control of commodities, adequate government regulation of such public-service monopolies as will remain under private operation, and heavy taxation of incomes, excess profits, and inheritances."²⁹ This latter drastic proposal, of course, was not to be effected for many years to come. Another crying remedy mentioned in the same place was that of slum clearance and proper housing for low-income workers.

Social security was also advanced as a necessary remedy. First of all, this should include a wider distribution of property, if even the social order itself is to be secure. Pending this reform, however, they demanded in 1940 "comprehensive security for all classes of society . . . against unemployment, sickness, accident, old age, and death." They do not see, however, how private enterprise alone can bring this about. It must be an industry-government effort.

Individual industries alone, however, cannot in each single case achieve this objective without invoking the principle of social insurance. Some form of government subsidy granted by the whole citizenship through legislative provision seems to be a necessary part of such a program.

They go on to say that insurance against the five insecurities—including, be it noted, sickness—must be a burden on the whole people, through industry as well as government, and they conclude:

Heartening indeed are the beginnings toward the greater security of the people that have already [1940] been made through legislative enactments, and public policy. The immediate benefit of these laws to working people may be small and some modifications perhaps desirable, but it is highly gratifying that the principle upon which they rest has become a part of our national policy.³⁰

²⁶ Huber, p. 251. This passage goes on to show the economic benefits of a general level of high wages.

²⁷ Huber, pp. 191-93.

²⁸ Huber, pp. 335-37.

²⁹ Huber, p. 258.

³⁰ Huber, pp. 332-34; See also the 1919 Program, Huber, pp. 254-55.

Remedies alone, however, did not satisfy the Bishops. They were constantly thinking of ways to a radical reform of a system which in 1940 they characterized as "both economically unsound and also inconsistent with the demands of social justice and social charity."

As a result of this search for a better social life they put themselves squarely behind the cooperative movement. They pioneered in 1919 when they enthusiastically promoted the idea of consumers' cooperatives, which they admit had not made much headway in this country at that time. They consider it, however, "more important and more effective than any government regulation of prices." Their reason is the elimination of the "enormous toll" taken by the middleman. They state flatly that the "difference between the price received by the producer and that paid by the consumer has become a scandal of our industrial system."⁴⁰

Later in the same 1919 Program they came out also for producers' cooperatives as well as consumers'. What they said then really marks the transition to something more radical still. They are not satisfied "so long as the majority of the workers remain mere wage earners." The end sought is that "the majority must somehow become owners, at least in part, of the instruments of production." The reform takes two steps: 1. cooperative productive societies; 2. co-partnership arrangements. "In the former, the workers own and manage the industries themselves; in the latter, they own a substantial part of the corporate stock and exercise a reasonable share in the management." They add:

It is to be noted that this particular modification of the existing order, though far-reaching and involving to a great extent the abolition of the wage system, would not mean the abolition of private ownership. The instruments of production would still be owned by individuals, not by the State.⁴¹

Employee Participation

However forward looking this proposal was in 1919, the rise of the "managerial revolution" in the '20's and '30's would quickly prove that ownership of "a substantial part of the corporate stock" was not going to guarantee "a reasonable share in the management." Soon, however, it became clear that even non-worker ownership had lost control to management, which often had very small ownership itself. Already in the 1919 Program they had praised the English Quaker employers who called for greater participation by employees in industrial management, by which they meant

The control of processes and machinery; nature of product; engagement and dismissal of employees; hours of work, rates of pay, bonuses, etc.; welfare work; shop discipline; relations with trade unions.⁴²

The Bishops go on to say that this result could be achieved through the establishment of shop committees, but they do not insist on this early forerunner of the industry-council idea, probably because at that time it looked utopian.

In 1931, in *Quadragesimo Anno*, however, Pius XI suggested that the wage contract might well be "modified" by clauses giving workers a partnership in profits, then ownership, then management itself. A short statement on the Economic Crisis in November of that year resurrected an idea already broached in the Pastoral of 1919 and expressed thus:

The time seems now to have arrived when it [the labor union] should be, not supplanted, but supplemented by associations and conferences, composed jointly of

⁴⁰ Huber, p. 253.

⁴¹ Huber, p. 258.

⁴² Huber, p. 255.

employers and employees, which will place emphasis upon the common interests rather than divergent aims . . . , upon cooperation rather than conflict.⁴³

Socio-Economic Order

Here was expressed in germ the principle of Pius XI's "vocational groups" by which management and labor come together, not on what divides them—their respective positions on the labor market—but on what unites them—the common good of an industry; in *ordines*, a vertical system of organization, not in *classes*, a horizontal one. They returned to the same idea in April, 1933, and again in November, 1940:

A contract between employers and employees would serve the purpose of individual and social welfare more effectively if it were modified by some form of partnership which would permit a graduated share in the ownership and profits of business and also some voice in its management.⁴⁴

It is true that they immediately add that "it is not intended that labor should assume responsibility for the direction of business, beyond its own competency or legitimate interest; nor has labor a right to demand dominating control over the distribution of profits," but this, of course, would depend on the terms of the partnership contract. They show this by what follows: "To set up such claims would amount to an infringement on the rights of property." This, in turn, would depend on the extent to which the "partnership contract" of which they speak has obliterated the present lines between ownership, management and labor, as it has, for instance, in a large part of the plywood industry in the Far West.⁴⁵ The same process is gradually taking place in other sectors of the producing and service industries, though the fulfillment is a long way off. Of this further development, the same could be said that was said by the Bishops of the cooperative movement, that it "would not mean the abolition of private property. The instruments of production would still be owned by individuals, not by the State." Moreover, of course, the evils of class strife and even of the strike would become a thing of the past.

IV. Economic Problems

Economic analysis, as such, was naturally outside the purview of our shepherds of souls in their statements to their flock. An economic theory, however, can be discerned, even in what has preceded. This is not surprising, since throughout the greater part of this period, the principal adviser of the Bishops in social matters was Monsignor John A. Ryan, professor of moral theology and economics at the Catholic University.⁴⁶ He was during all those years the Catholic leader in social thought, and in an uncanny way he anticipated the positions of both the Holy See and of the American Government. It is well known that he had an active hand in many of the documents here quoted.

The frame of reference of this economic theory, as might be expected, is, as the Bishops phrased it in 1941, echoing the Holy See, "the inviolability of private property." Within this broad field, however, they introduced many modifications of the traditional doctrine.

Fundamentally, it is a theory of a constantly expanding economy, with production near capacity, with a high level of wages and a "secular trend" of lower prices. They were opposed, therefore, to any artificial scarcity, whether

⁴³ Huber, pp. 195 and 50.

⁴⁴ Huber, p. 335; see p. 290.

⁴⁵ Cf. "The Richest Millhands in the Country" in the *Saturday Evening Post*,

April 5, 1952, pp. 28ff.

⁴⁶ On Monsignor Ryan, cf. McGaerty, *The Economic Thought of John A. Ryan*, Catholic University Press, 1952.

through cartel arrangements or government subsidies. They did not subscribe to any theory of the business cycle as something necessary and inherent in the private-property system. They explained the depression of the 1930's as due primarily to the relative lack of sufficient purchasing power on the part of the masses, though they did also blame slacking-off of investment in productive capital as a cause rather than an effect of the slump. Consequently, they favored a broad program of public works as a temporary means of restoring mass purchasing power and spoke with high praise of the early efforts of the New Deal to bring this about.⁴⁷ They never, however, supported the idea of public works as a permanent policy for the country; they were too optimistic about our private enterprise for that. They did, however, feel on occasion that a dose of governmental competition, especially in the utilities field, might act as a stimulant to private enterprise, especially for their pet project of lower prices and higher wages.

Improve Distribution

It may be assumed from all this that the Bishops never quite accepted supply and demand as a unique controlling law in the economy. Neither did they approve of a veiled-monopolistic managed price in private hands, though they did suggest that government might do some managing along these lines itself. They were all for a more equitable distribution of income, and this, not from a purely moral standpoint, but, as they insisted, for the economic good itself. If there was one thing they harped on, in a non-technical way, of course, it was that high purchasing power in the hands of the many is the only sound way to insure a going and prosperous economy. That is one reason why they eagerly accepted Pius XI's proposal that wage earners have a larger share in ownership, profits and management. The fact that purchasing power is not more widely distributed the Bishops starkly attribute to "greed," a factual element which not all economists take into account in their calculations.

Hence the Bishops subscribed to the sharp denunciation by Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* of the modern capitalistic order: "Free competition is dead. Economic dictatorship has taken its place. Unbridled ambition for domination has succeeded the desire for gain. The whole economic life has become hard, cruel and relentless in a ghastly measure." The cause of this, they agreed with the Pontiff, was the managerial revolution of our times, the fact that, as Pius said, "economic domination is concentrated in the hands of the few, and those few are frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure."

It must not be concluded from this that the Bishops were wholly in favor of unbridled free competition. They accepted the competitive order, it is true, but within limits, for they saw with Pius XI that unlimited competition inevitably leads to its opposite, monopoly. Competition is strife: some win, some lose. Those who lose become displaced or absorbed by the larger and stronger concentrations of power, which become fewer and fewer. The Bishops were willing to call on government to halt this trend, and they came out strongly for the saving and spreading of small business. They felt, however, that the salvation of small business was in the hands of the people itself, the myriad communities that should patronize their local enterprises, on which, after all, they depend for their living.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Huber, pp. 302-03.

⁴⁸ The foregoing section is a paraphrase

and interpretation of many episcopal statements. Due to the nature of the

V. Government and Politics

1. *Citizenship* Paul Blanshard was unknown, except as a New York City office holder, during most of the period under review, so the Bishops cannot be suspected of writing merely for effect when they laid great stress on the paramount value of good citizenship. In the Pastoral of 1919 they stated that the foundation of this must be found in a proper education.

An education that unites intellectual, moral, and religious elements is the best training for citizenship. It inculcates a sense of responsibility, a respect for authority, and a considerateness for the rights of others which are the necessary foundations of civic virtue—more necessary, where, as in a democracy, the citizen, enjoying a larger freedom, has a greater obligation of governing himself. We are convinced that as religion and morality are essential to right living and the public welfare, both should be included in the work of education.⁴⁹

This modern echo of Washington's Farewell Address sounded the triple note which will be heard through all the Bishops' statements on this important subject: there is no good citizenship without sound education, no sound education without religion. Thus in a long passage in the 1926 Pastoral on Mexico, at the height of the persecution in that country, they stressed the long tradition of America's following of Washington's ideal:

While with us there is no union of Church and State, nevertheless there is full and frank recognition of the utility of religion to good government. Hence the American state encourages religion to make greater and greater contributions to the happiness of the people, the stability of government, and the reign of order.⁵⁰

Much later, in the 1948 statement on "The Christian in Action," in a long passage deplored the McCollum decision of the Supreme Court and the secularistic trend contained in it, they said:

The inroads of secularism in civil life are a challenge to the Christian citizen—and indeed to every citizen with definite religious convictions. The essential connection between religion and good citizenship is deep in our American tradition. Those who took the lead in establishing our independence and framing our Constitution were firm and explicit in the conviction that religion and morality are the strong supports of national well-being, that national morality cannot long prevail in the absence of religious principle, and that impartial encouragement of religious influence on its citizens is a proper and practical function of good government. This American tradition clearly envisioned the school as the meeting place of these interacting influences.⁵¹

Place of Religion

They then quote the Congress' Northwest Ordinance of 1787 (re-enacted in 1790): "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good citizenship, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," and they draw the irrefutable conclusion: "This is our authentic American tradition on the philosophy of education for citizenship." This idea was carried out in the 1950 statement on "The Child: Citizen of Two Worlds," quoted above.⁵² Among the four "senses" to be inculcated is the sense of responsibility to both God and government.

matter, it was impossible to present any extended quotations, but I think the economic assumptions are clear and tenable. For the reader who wishes to pursue this subject further, I mention, of course, the 1919 Program, but especially the neglected statement of 1933 on the Present Crisis, Huber, pp. 272-300.

This is an official commentary on *Quadragesimo Anno* and largely reflects its economic views.

⁴⁹ Huber, pp. 60-61.

⁵⁰ Huber, p. 77.

⁵¹ Huber, p. 149.

⁵² *Supra*, pp. 263-64.

The Bishops' own American citizenship, like that of everyone else, was put to acute tests in the two World Wars. In April, 1917, the Hierarchy addressed a letter to President Woodrow Wilson in which they pledged "our most sacred and sincere loyalty and patriotism toward our country, our government, and our flag." The letter was personally delivered to the President by Cardinal Gibbons. It deserves to stand with the similar letter sent to General George Washington by Bishop John Carroll. In November, 1940, while the war clouds threatened, they "renew their most sacred and sincere loyalty to our government and to the basic ideals of the American Republic." Finally, in December, 1941, Archbishop (later Cardinal) Mooney, "in the name of the Bishops of the United States," presented a letter to President Roosevelt in which they promise to "marshal the spiritual forces at our command to render secure our God-given blessings of freedom."⁵³

The normal exercise of citizenship from day to day, however, is, of course, that of the exercise of the rights of the suffrage:

In our form of government the obligation of bringing about a reform of the social order rests upon citizens, who by their votes give a mandate to legislators and executives. This makes evident a civic duty, and for us Catholics it is also a religious one governed by the virtue of piety; that is, a certain filial piety toward our country which impels us to promote the reform of the social order by voting for competent and conscientious men of high moral principles.⁵⁴

Corrupt Government

We have already seen their sharp condemnation of corruption in government, their statement that "municipal government was so often synonymous with fraud, graft, corruption, misappropriation of public funds, and the unholy alliance between criminals and the police." Already, in the 1919 Pastoral, they had pointed out that as justice condemns dishonesty in private dealings, so it "must condemn even more emphatically any and every attempt on the part of individuals to further their interests at the expense of the public welfare."⁵⁵

The latest, and perhaps the sharpest, condemnation of various forms of corruption in political life occurs in the November 18, 1951, statement on "God's Law, the Measure of Man's Conduct." They first lay down a general principle:

In politics, the principle that "anything goes" simply because people are thought not to expect any degree of honor in politicians is grossly wrong. We have to recover that sense of personal obligation on the part of the voter and that sense of public trust on the part of the elected official which give meaning and dignity to public life.

Having laid down this principle, they apply it in two cases:

Those who are selected for office by their fellow men are entrusted with grave responsibilities. They have been selected not for self-enrichment but for conscientious public service. In their speech and in their actions they are bound by the same laws of justice and charity which bind private individuals. . . .

The other case has to do with those who make public accusations of wrongdoing without sufficient grounds:

Dishonesty, slander, detraction, and defamation of character are as truly transgressions of God's commandments when resorted to by men in political life as they are for all other men.⁵⁶

Coming as it did in the midst of the charges, investigations and counter-charges of the 82nd Congress, this double condemnation naturally made a profound impression.

⁵³ Huber, pp. 173-74; 230-31; 350-52.

⁵⁴ Huber, p. 289. They use the word *pietas* in its medieval sense.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Supra*, p. 261; Huber, pp. 301 and 36.

⁵⁶ Huber, p. 374.

2. *Justice and Authority*

In several statements there are extended passages in which the Bishops set forth the traditional Catholic teachings on the origin and nature of the political authority, the purpose of the state, the qualities and the limits of law and the moral character of all public administration. These are especially to be found in the 1919 Pastoral, the Pastoral on Mexico (1926), the statements on International Order (1944), on the Present Crisis (1933), on the Christian Attitude on Social Problems (1937), and on the Christian in Action (1948). Due to their length, they can be only summarized here.

Justice, by which we give everyone his due, is the foundation of the social and political order. Man, by nature a social and political being, is bound to render to society and the state his full devotion for the common good, and society and the state are bound, by reciprocity, to protect the rights of the individual and to secure to him their benefits. Any theory of the state denying this is anti-human.

Authority, while in concrete cases it is transmitted to governments by the community, nevertheless in every case it ultimately came to the community from God Himself. Hence it has a sacred character, and those subject to it are obligated in conscience to obey. Conversely, authority may not arrogate to itself the rights of God, may not legislate contrary to the laws of God, must act in accord with the will of God, may not deny to man, God's creature, his inherent rights derived from God.

The *State*, the political society, exists for a twofold purpose: (1) to protect the rights of all individuals without distinction of any accidental inequality of condition; and (2) to create the conditions in society within which individuals and groups may rightfully pursue their welfare. It may not, therefore, arrogate to itself all of the functions which belong to the society as a whole. To do this would be totalitarianism. The principle of *subsidiarity* (subsidiary function) bids that what the lesser group in society can perform should not be taken on by the larger group, the state.

Governments are instituted among men to perform the specific tasks of the political society, the state. They always exist by consent of the governed. Usurpers, tyrants, dictators are anti-social, and the people have the right to overthrow them.

Laws are a dictate of reason for the common good. Lacking either quality, they are, in Aquinas' words, "a species of violence," and may, sometimes must, be resisted.

Constitutions are, in modern times, the normal framework within which laws may be made. They are at the same time a grant of power to governments (State or Federal, in our case) and a definite limitation on the same power, to be interpreted by the courts. They should be, therefore, our principal guarantees of liberty.⁵⁷

3. *Social Legislation*

The reason for treating this subject apart from the general question of government is that it is not always easy to discern a clear and consistent line of thought throughout the period studied. In general, however, and with some exceptions, this may be said: before *Quadragesimo Anno* the statements restricted the powers of government to "protecting right and preserving order," as in the 1919 Pastoral and the 1926 Pastoral on Mexico. After Pius XI's Encyclical quite generally they accepted the necessity of social legislation, especially in view of that Pope's round condemnation of the state-hands-off philosophy and his praise of the social legislation inspired by Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*.

Yet even some months before the 1919 Pastoral we find the Bishops subscribing to a whole eleven-point program, most of which, after 1933, was enacted into law, as pointed out by Cardinal Mooney. As this study shows, the Bishops continued, on the whole, to stand by the 1919 Program. Yet, even after 1933 it is possible to point out here and there phrases and sentences which seem to revert to the old *laissez-faire* philosophy of "that government governs best which governs least."

⁵⁷ Cf. Huber, pp. 36-38; 53-54; 72-77; 149-53; 289-95; 313-18; 121-26.

Allowances, however, may be made for these apparent discrepancies from two facts. *First*, there is the guiding hand in drawing up each document. No one is so naive as to suppose that each one was composed by the whole body, just as no one supposes that the Popes themselves find the time to write their own Encyclicals. Thus in our Bishops' statements we sometimes find discrepancies and developments on the powers of government, just as we find them in the forty-year series of Leo XIII's Encyclicals.

Role of State

The *second* fact is that the historical context of statements must be examined to discover their over-all import. Most of the warnings issued by our Bishops against excessive governmental intervention—and they have been few—have come when they were thinking of socialism or fascism or communism and are couched in general terms. Particular recommendations for social remedies and reforms are couched in specific terms.

In general, it may be said that, all things considered, the attitude of the Bishops follows two lines: 1. society has the duty of cooperating for the common welfare; if possible, by private group action. 2. the state has the duty, and therefore the right, to intervene for the common good where private group action is lacking or incapable of grappling with a given problem.⁵⁸

These two threads run through all these documents, with now one, now the other, in evidence, according to circumstances. On a general survey, this may be said, that they were always in favor of social reform, but that they preferred to see this done voluntarily by local communities rather than by the national one.⁵⁹ The balance in favor of federal government naturally followed *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931, but even this was weighted by the principle of subsidiary function, by which Pius XI declared that there should be specific groups in society to effect the necessary reforms and only in default of these would the larger society intervene. Unfortunately, the modern world was not ready for this message, and the subsidiary groups did not exist. It should not be surprising, therefore, that in many cases the Bishops looked to the Federal Government for the principal reforms.

We have already seen that the Bishops looked to Federal legislation to secure a *minimum wage* for workers whose product is in inter-state commerce. The problem of *child labor* was a more difficult one. In spite of the fact that, as they noticed, public opinion "set its face inflexibly against it" the Supreme Court declared both state and federal legislation on child labor unconstitutional, thus creating the famous "no man's land" of which Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke. The 1919 Program spoke rather discouragedly about the prospects of removing "this reproach to our country," but did have a faint hope that the only way was that "of taxing child labor out of existence." They urged a 10

⁵⁸ It is not intended that the Bishops anywhere explicitly make the distinction between state and society which modern social thinkers now commonly make. It seems, however, that the distinction is implicit in much of what they say. Failure to make it—as if whatever is said of society must also be true of the political society, the state—could result, at the least, in confusion, at the worst,

in totalitarianism.

⁵⁹ Cf. for instance the 1922 statement against Paternalism, which they feared "would eventually sovietize our form of government." By this they meant "officialism, red tape, and prodigal waste of public money . . . Hordes of so-called experts and self-perpetuating cliques of politicians to regulate every detail of daily life." Huber, p. 264.

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per cent tax on all goods made by children.⁶⁰ Much later, of course, a way was found around the difficulty in the Wagner Act, and a new Supreme Court proved more amenable.

As we have seen, they early approved the principle of Federal *insurance* against sickness, disability, old age, death and unemployment when these could not be provided for otherwise. To date, only sickness insurance remains out of the Federal statute books. Episcopal opinions on this vary in recent years.

From the beginning of the period under study, *organized labor* was considered by the Bishops to be a legitimate subject of legislation, as a matter of natural law and its right of *collective bargaining* to be secured by Federal and State law upheld. Thus the Wagner Act was approved. I have been able to find no collective statement on the Taft-Hartley amendments, for or against.

Other Issues

Public housing did not receive much mention in episcopal statements since the brief mention of it in the 1919 Program. The policy established then seems to have prevailed: that outside of war or other emergencies, it was not the duty of the Federal Government, but of the State and local authorities, to care for this by legislation.⁶¹ In many dioceses, the Ordinary has individually supported this position.

The *farm problem* received serious consideration in the 1933 statement on the Present Crisis.⁶² It criticized "our unsound agricultural policy" and thought "much may be accomplished by legislation" without, however, espousing any of the several legislative proposals then mooted. The Bishops thought, rather, that the radical solution of this particular problem lay in a moral and spiritual revival among both our urban and rural populations. In this they seemed to agree with the policies of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, of which many Bishops are active members.

Over a period of 32 years, our Bishops have collectively poured out a total of 81 statements. Not by any means did all of these deal with domestic social questions. Some of them had to do with the *international relations* of the United States: The League of Nations, Dumbarton Oaks, The United Nations, Palestine, the missions and their political implications, international peace in general, the Papacy and its world influence, Mexico, Communism, Nazism, Poland under Russia, South America, Hungary and other areas. There was almost nothing in these years that in world affairs our Bishops did not envision. This is beyond the purview of this study. But all of it deserves investigation.

Relations of *Church and State* constitute another area which the Bishops considered extensively. These also must be left to further separate study. In particular, the question of Federal legislation in aid of private education and also that of the claim to state monopoly of elementary schooling, are related questions, on which the Bishops had much to say. These also deserve separate treatment. Fortunately, Father Huber has provided the material.

VI. Conclusion

Thus it may be seen that our Bishops, however they may differ with one another privately, take collectively a rather eclectic position on social legislation. As far as this is concerned, they have been rather empirical than doctrinaire, inclined rather to favor the underprivileged, when it is a question of

⁶⁰ Huber, p. 256.

⁶¹ Huber, p. 252.

⁶² Huber, pp. 282-83.

state intervention, than to take a *laissez-faire* attitude. But they were obviously afraid of too much encroachment of the state upon private affairs, as shown by their habitual cautiousness, without, however, ever attempting to establish any definite limits.

This study has probably indicated the leads to guide clergy and laity alike for a study of the problems which confront Americans in this modern age. As has been seen, the Bishops just about covered everything in the field. For some readers, the positions they generally took may seem somewhat extreme. Others may feel that they did not go far enough. This probably means that they were pretty close to center, though maybe a little left of it. In this they followed, after 1931, the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, which the then Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt told me in the Fall of 1932 was "too radical" to quote in campaign speeches. (However, he was persuaded to include in his two "Sunday sermons" that year, at San Francisco and Detroit, a long excerpt from it which is probably the sharpest criticism of modern capitalism outside of Communist writings.)

In any case, the record is clear enough on industrial relations, on racism, on the family, on rural problems and many other problems. It may surprise some that Communism did not come in for extended consideration, as it did in the Catholic press during the period under study. This writer himself was surprised at this. Communism is mentioned only three times in a volume of 402 pages, and Soviet Russia, twice. The omission is, I think, highly significant. It means that these Bishops were more interested in a positive program which would make Communism impossible in this country than they were in a sterile, negative anti-Communism. The lesson should not be lost.



Shedding Communism

What I had been fell from me like dirty rags. The rags that fell from me were not only Communism. What fell was the whole web of the materialist modern mind—the luminous shroud which it has spun about the spirit of man, paralyzing in the name of rationalism the instinct of his soul for God, denying in the name of knowledge the reality of the soul and its birthright in that mystery on which mere knowledge falters and shatters at every step. If I had rejected only Communism, I would have rejected only one political expression of the modern mind, the most logical because the most brutal in enforcing the myth of man's material perfectibility. . . . What I sensed without being able to phrase it was what has since been phrased with the simplicity of an axiom: "Man cannot organize the world for himself without God; without God man can only organize the world *against man*."

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

TRENDS

Steelworkers to Push Allowances

Family allowances as set forth by Father Ralph Lassance, S.J., in his article "Canada Provides for Her Children" (SOCIAL ORDER, February, 1952, pp. 67-74), so appealed to a unionist of Buffalo, New York, that he proposed it to his local as a resolution.

Local 2604 (Lackawanna 18) passed the resolution at a general body meeting March 23.

The next step, according to Patrick J. Gibbons, whose interest in the SOCIAL ORDER article sparked the idea, was to propose a resolution to the 1952 national convention of the United Steelworkers of America at Philadelphia.

Prominent in the resolution were the notions that all the major nations successfully employ a family allowance system and that social justice demands a better proportion between purchasing power of single workers and married workers with children.

For Happier Families

Champions of the principle of subsidiarity may be surprised, overjoyed, encouraged and inspired to know of developments among the Catholic families of the Midwest.

Enough young married leaders in the Chicago area, for instance, have kept up their effort at the application of the inquiry method (observe, judge, act) to phases of family living to make the Christian Family Movement an adolescent reality. One hundred married couples came from all over the United States to attend the third annual convention last year at Notre Dame. The meeting this year is to take place there again, June 27-29.

On the planning committee for this year are couples from South Bend, Davenport, Fond du Lac, Joliet, Sycamore, Ill., Woonsocket, R. I.; Aylmer, Quebec, and Chicago. At last year's meeting were representatives from the same cities, plus El Monte, Calif.; Raleigh, N. C.; New York; Detroit; Atlanta; Covington, Ky.; Cleveland; Reading; Indianapolis. Even more delegates are expected this June.

The C.F.M. has an official headquarters at Room 1808, 100 W. Monroe, Chicago 3,

III. It publishes a periodical called *Act*, full of inspirational material and news of family life groups. Another of its publications is *Chaplains' Bulletin*, to which priest chaplains contribute their experience and counsel.

The handbook *For Happier Families* (50c) has gone into a revised edition. It contains plans for a long series of meetings.

At least one Chicago group contains sixty families, which meet regularly and investigate and remedy their home and community problems by means of the inquiry method.

Democracy—Apartheid Style

April 6 saw a gigantic peaceful protest against the oppressive policies of racial segregation (Apartheid) in South Africa.

Racial tension in The Union of South Africa is likely to grow into a troublesome, complicated problem no less serious than Middle East and Far East political violence.

It involves also three great factors: nationalism, a growing Communism and the Western powers. The population division may help clarify the situation. The multi-racial community comprises 8.3 million Native Africans, 2.6 million Europeans, a million colored (mixed descent) and 320,000 Indians.

Politically, the representation in parliament has recently been cut by D. F. Malan in regard to the colored, the last section of non-Europeans to be taken from the common electoral roll and placed on separate rolls. Now, under such provisions, the political impotence of the non-Europeans has reached a new low. These figures show the proportion in representation: nearly ten million non-European citizens pick for parliament only five senators and seven representatives, a total of twelve. On the other hand, the 2.6 million Europeans select a total of 150 members of parliament! The large body of Indians has no representation.

Certain acts of legislation have been passed in the last two and a half years which can only add to the bitterness between the social groups. The Mixed Marriages Act (an amendment to the Immorality Act of the Hertzog government forbidding interracial sexual relations but

not marriage) now makes illegal and criminal any marriage between Europeans and non-Europeans. The Population Registration Act provides for the registration of all adults according to racial origin. The Group Areas Act permits the government to restrict racial groups to certain sections. The last bill striking the colored from the common electoral rolls is the fourth special source of resentment.

Since 1910 non-Europeans have been barred from standing for parliament. In 1930 European women received the suffrage, but not the non-European women.

The Natives, the colored and the Indians (totalling some 9.6 millions) are only lately setting up their own political organizations. They have neither money nor arms and can only demonstrate.

One of the Indian leaders, who edits the weekly *Indian Opinion*, is the son of Mahatma Gandhi. Manilal Gandhi, as a loyal, sincere disciple of his father, has said, "It is folly to believe that an unarmed man is helpless. He has more strength than one armed to the teeth, provided he has unshakable faith in the power of God."

Gandhi has called the *apartheid* laws of segregation "immoral laws" and urged a fight of non-violence against them. He himself, sometimes with his wife, has broken the laws without punishment. So far the government has practically ignored him, but his two-week fast of protest attracted the attention of supporters in many lands.

A South African newspaperman touring this country and Canada to study race relations, J. W. Patten, assistant editor of the Johannesburg *Star*, says that the increase in Negro voting in the United States is the opposite of the current trend in his country.

Malan's latest blow, mentioned above as striking the colored from the voting rolls, has since been declared unconstitutional by the supreme court. Far from clearing the situation, the decision brought from the Prime Minister the threat to legislate against the court's right of judgment on constitutionality. One hopeful spot was the wide expression of disagreement and alarm by his political opponents.

DPs from Palestine

Some 800,000 Arab refugees who left their homes in Palestine in 1948 as a result of Jewish-Arab hostilities have won much care and assistance from the U.N. recently.

Established about sixteen months ago by the U.N. General Assembly, the United

Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (U.N.R.W.A.) has consulted with local governments on plans and projects to furnish jobs and homes for many of these refugees. It has made some progress at reintegration through placement services, technical training and granting of small loans to help the DPs start small businesses.

A number of agricultural projects are planned. One concerns settlement in the Sinai Peninsula of Egypt, where if sufficient underground water resources are found, self-sustaining communities might provide for some 10,000 families (50,000 refugees).

The General Assembly at Paris approved the U.N.R.W.A. three-year plan for reintegration and relief, and considerably increased its budget.

French View American Business

Reports from French management and worker groups which visited American business establishments as part of the E.C.A. productivity effort are beginning to appear in print, and articles on the experiences show up frequently in French periodicals.

In general there is chary acceptance of what they have seen and occasional expressed admiration for American business methods. Most frequent comment is upon the absence of a spirit of caste and class (see "Trends," 3 o.s. [September, 1950] 327). One writer remarked: "The great discovery and surprise for French investigators of American business was the important role played by human factors in American productivity. Most reporters placed that factor far and away in first place."

Other factors noted have been planning at all stages of work, standardization, careful cost accounting, painstaking study of the market and salesmanship, public relations, mechanization and diffusion of responsibility.

Great attention is paid by French reporters to different systems, none of them as yet widespread, which give workers more status in the enterprise or a better-proportioned share of income from the operation. Among these were profit-sharing and share-the-production plans. The Nunn-Bush and Scanlon plans received frequent attention and evoked favorable comment.

Occasional reference is made in the reports to the materialism of American businessmen and workers and to their engrossment in pragmatic considerations.

BOOKS

THE ECONOMICS OF MOBILIZATION AND INFLATION.—By Seymour E. Harris. W. W. Norton, New York, 1951, pp. 308. \$4.50.

Don't be fooled by the present inflationary lull, say experts; storm signals are still flying. Professor Harris explains the lull and what's to follow through 1953. No run-away inflation. But who wants an annual price increase of ten percent? In fifteen years that would wipe out the value of today's pensions, insurance, savings and other fixed income.

The inequities bother Harris as much as the danger to the mobilization program. How does inflation affect the various stages of mobilization? How do you meet the varying situations? Each topic is handled skillfully and interestingly.

In his prescription there is sacrifice for everyone. All except bottom income groups must cut their normal consumption. For, whereas in the 1940's we started our war effort with an abundance of unemployed men, resources and equipment, today we start with relatively full employment. There can't be guns and the usual butter. Also, by 1942 we had succeeded in increasing our annual production of goods and services so as to fairly match the money supply created by the debt of World War I. Not so in 1952. Now the whole, huge debt and money supply hang menacingly over us. Had we had time, we should gradually have matched the money with things to buy. But now we must actually divert production away from civilian use—and civilian money funds.

In face of the situation Harris prescribes not only monetary controls but fiscal. To these he adds direct price and wage controls. There's medicine for everyone. Bigger taxes this year, still bigger in '53. That's to cut consumer spending and to prevent further rise of money supply. Business profits too low? Too high, says Harris. Cut them by higher excess-profits taxes to prevent present high levels of private investment.

And organized labor, far from asking increases, must cut its standard of living. For farmers there's a like message. But government must play fair with all this civilian sacrifice by cutting wastes and unnecessary expenditures.

If you dislike any of this program, or have your pet nostrum, you cannot do better than to expose your idea to Harris's vigorous logic. The book is written, not for the expert, but for the intelligent lay citizen. As a whole or taken topically, the volume presents clear, masterly simplifying of complex problems. It is the work of an able teacher.

PHILIP SULLIVAN LAND, S.J.
Institute of Social Order

THE EXTENT OF ENTERPRISE MONOPOLY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1899-1939.—By G. Warren Nutter. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1951, xvi, 169 pp. \$4.00.

Is "big business getting bigger and little business littler?" This widely-held thesis is rejected by Dr. Nutter. His study (corroborated by other recent research) reveals that while there is much concentration (about 20 per cent), it has not shown important increase over the period studied. Nutter is interested in growth of monopoly, that is, control of a given market demand. He discusses with acumen measures of its extent and of its importance. A workable competition, he finds, is compatible with more inelasticity of demand than theory's pure competition permits.

This inelasticity (permitting monopoly) Nutter measures indirectly through concentration. When he has thus identified monopoly, Nutter proceeds to measure its extent. This is accomplished by measuring the percentage of national income arising in the monopolized sector. Thus, for 1899 we find that 17.4 per cent of national income originated in monopolistic industries, 76.1 in workably competitive and 6.5 in government. Therefore, competition accounted for about 81 per cent of nongovernmental production and monopoly for 19 per cent.

Against these data Nutter presents for 1937-39 an upper and a lower estimate. The upper estimate gives 19.3 per cent of national income now arising in monopoly—an increase of 1.9 percentage points while competition fell from 76 to 55.5, and government rose from 6.5 to 25. Considering again only income arising in non-government (but including those government-

supervised utilities which in fact are not operating as monopolies) the income originating in monopoly becomes 25 per cent, six points higher. His reason for including the utilities is that these could be presumed to act monopolistically if they were not supervised.

It is particularly instructive to note that the growth of monopoly appears largely in the manufacturing sector. And this *appearance* is itself largely due to the simple fact of more income now originating in manufacturing than in 1899. Thus, while monopoly in manufacturing was rising from 32 to 38 per cent, the portion of total income arising in manufacturing was rising from 17 per cent to 24 per cent. Autos accounted for practically no income in 1899 but for 6.6 per cent of manufacturing income in 1937. More light on these figures for manufacturing can be got by realizing that manufacturing was in 1937 the most monopolized sector of the economy, 20 per cent of all manufacturing industries being monopolistic; but this monopolized sector of manufacturing accounted for only 5 per cent of total income.

After an evaluation of the extent to which six factors may have contributed to monopoly growth (1. extent of the market, 2. rate of innovation, 3. uncertainty, 4. composition of national income, 5. framework of rules and 6. economies of scale), Nutter concludes that 1 and 2 appear to have worked against monopoly while 4 and 5 were favorable. He judges that economies of scale contributed to monopoly-size *plant* in manufacturing. But he severely qualifies this as a measure of increased monopoly.

People who want to talk responsibly about monopoly should read this book.

PHILIP S. LAND, S.J.
Institute of Social Order

ECONOMICS OF NATIONAL SECURITY.—Planned and edited by George A. Lincoln, William S. Stone, Thomas H. Harvey. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1950, 601 pp. \$6.65.

The purpose of this work is a survey of the "scope and nature of the economic problems caused by the 'anti-aggression' policy of our country and the related principles of national mobilization for 'hot war'." The work is professedly a survey and not a comprehensive treatment of the modern "elements of security having economic significance." As a survey it touches the key topics "on a related basis."

Chapter I, "The Economic Basis of National Security," indicates the grave necessity in our time of a regimented econ-

omy and civilian front in the time of total war. Chapter II follows logically from the first. The regimenting agency is the Government using the powers it has from the constitution. The chapters that follow immediately discuss the elements of national strength, (viz., man power, raw materials and facilities) and the measures taken by the Government for guiding and controlling these elements for the purpose of furthering our security.

Chapter XI explains economic warfare and foreign aid programs. Wartime economic weapons, we are told, include the control of imports and exports, trade agreements, shipping controls, black listing, preclusive buying, foreign assets control and finally lend lease. Each of the economic weapons is treated at some length. The foreign aid programs are taken approximately chronologically. Their purpose is described with particular reference to the security of the United States.

In Chapter XII, the last, "The Outlook For The Future," a warning is given that we must be prepared to meet the costs entailed by the strengthening of our nation. We must have a "wise, integrated employment of our economic, psychological, military and political resources for a dual security purpose." The first of these is the maintenance of "strength and posture" that beget confidence and resolution in the free world and that serve as a deterrent and a check to military aggression. The second is basically military preparedness which will give us assurance of survival of our way of life if war comes.

This volume should provide its readers with some knowledge that will help toward an understanding of and a consequent public support of the security programs necessary for the preservation of the free world in our generation.

WILLIAM J. NICHOLSON, S.J.
St. Louis University

THE PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE AND HER PATIENT.—By Ruth Gilbert, R.N. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, v, 348 pp. \$3.75.

Discussing this book with the Director of a Public Health Service, I learned that it has been required reading at the School for Nursing of the University of Pennsylvania. I believe it is an excellent choice for such reading.

Miss Gilbert introduces the reader to all the main problems of the Public Health Nurse. Well informed, the author draws expertly from a rich fund of experience to highlight her views on the requirements

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for successful nursing. Topics such as "Mental Hygiene," "Teaching Health," "Problems of Maternity Patients," "Children in Families both Sick and Well," "Nursing the Chronic or Long Term Patient," plus a final chapter on the relationship which should prevail between the co-workers in Public Health, are handled with skill and interest. I was impressed particularly with the theme which runs through Miss Gilbert's entire work—the supreme importance of the individual in each case. Miss Gilbert is wise in avoiding all cut and dried solutions, knowing from experience how important personality is in good nursing. She pleads for the person against the mechanical worker.

In these pages the importance and the cooperation of the Social Worker is stressed. The index and bibliography are further assets.

In the pages of her book Miss Gilbert prescinds from any discussion of the problems such as birth control and others which Catholic nurses often must face in Public Health Nursing. In general, however, I recommend this book and find nothing in it contrary to Catholic morality.

EUGENE J. LINEHAN, S.J.
Weston College

MORAL PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL WORK.—By Charles R. McKenney, S.J. Bruce, Milwaukee, 1951, xv, 131 pp. \$2.50.

Answering a long felt need for a Catholic text in Social Work discussing the moral problems of the area, Fr. McKenney's book deserves a warm welcome. Material hitherto not published or only to be found piecemeal in a wide variety of sources is here made available within the pages of a single, clear book. It should prove a boon to all social workers, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, since most of its conclusions are of universal application, binding on all religious groups. And in those cases where appeal is made to Church or Scriptural authority the fact is carefully noted.

Fr. McKenney treats with a sure hand such thorny moral problems as cooperation with agencies of dubious moral character, preserving the nonjudgmental attitude in work with delinquents, counseling married couples who may be intent upon divorce. All social workers will be grateful for the authoritative moral guidance he gives in these and similar cases. There is a wise reminder for the reader, also, that the decisions of the text concern what is permissible within the limits of sound morality and fully recognize that a nobler course may often be counseled.

Probably no two individuals would agree as to the ideal content of such a book. This reviewer therefore suggests with confidence that a discussion of the moral aspects of psychoanalysis and a review of the natural law arguments against contraception and divorce, also, perhaps, the proofs for the freedom of the will, with special emphasis on the objections from psychiatry and criminology, would contribute to the utility of the text.

Withal it is an excellent job, a pioneer work that belongs in the hands of every social worker, particularly if he deals with Catholic clients.

EDWARD H. NOLAN, S.J.
Boston College School
of Social Work

FIELD THEORY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE. Selected Theoretical Papers.—By Kurt Lewin. Edited by Dorwin Cartwright. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951, pp. xx, 346. \$5.00.

This publication of the Research Center for Group Dynamics (R.C.G.D.) at the University of Michigan is a companion volume for Lewin's *Resolving Social Conflicts*. Written during his years at Iowa and at M.I.T. (where he founded the R.C.G.D. in 1945), these posthumous papers present the theories of the late social psychologist whose system was variously known as topological, hodological, "holistic" psychology, "Field Theory" (as opposed of depth psychology) and Group Dynamics.

The sophisticated level of the treatment in the present volume, with its involved terminology, its intricate conceptualizations, and its mathematical formalizations, places it in the field of technical works for social scientists. But the broad influence of Lewin in the field of education, labor-management relations, intergroup work and social relations generally, should cause serious students of human relations to examine the basic assumptions and the empirical achievements of the school with a careful eye.

Lewin believed, and demonstrated to the satisfaction of a large body of social scientists, that the laws of face-to-face group behavior could be studied and discerned independently of the ideological purposes or the specific types of activities of the group. Thus, his theories have been applied to the work-group, the classroom group, the managerial staff or board of directors, the hospital staff and even the family group. In the present volume, many of the experiments designed to test and prove the theories in actual life situ-

ations are described and evaluated. Future research projects using the basic framework and research tools are suggested. These are being vigorously carried out at the R.C.G.D., the National Training Laboratory in Group Development and the Human Dynamics Laboratory at Chicago.

It is obvious from a perusal of the present work that in their patient and systematic efforts to ferret out the causes of interpersonal and intergroup tensions, the factors in social conflict and especially the dynamics of normal, wholesome group life, these social psychologists are studying the natural social virtues and verifying the conditions for their normal functioning.

Group Dynamics has been the object of much criticism and attack on the part of rugged individualists (see the *Fortune* article "Groupthink," by W. H. Whyte, March, 1952). These critics are suspicious of anything social as savoring of socialism and totalitarianism. But a sane examination of Group Dynamics of the Lewinian type will convince serious thinkers that their empirical studies are significant contributions to a proper social order and to wholesome group life.

What is needed is less of the petulant generalizations by which Group Dynamics is currently depreciated and more of the broad synthesis of the positive achievements of social science with the basic principles of the perennial philosophy, of American democracy, and of the Christian tradition.

ALBERT S. FOLEY, S.J.
Institute of Social Order

THE MARK OF OPPRESSION: A Psychosocial Study of the American Negro.—By Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey. W. W. Norton, New York, 1951, xvii, 396 pp. \$5.00.

That discrimination affects the Negro and his culture no student of race relations would deny. No one can overlook the blight of poverty, ignorance and disease when these things disturb a white community — the same factors, greatly heightened by discrimination, are bound to affect all human beings.

Two psychiatrists here propose a study of "the impact on Negro personality of the specific and identifiable social pressures." Four years scrutinizing the case histories of 25 persons and one year of abstracting and preparing the material went into the volume.

Their conclusions are presented with the usual self-assuredness of the Freudian

psychiatrist, despite the fact that (only in the preface) they admit a certain tentativeness for the findings. The hustling to rationalize the low number of cases by appealing to Freud's five cases looks much like a defense mechanism against the widespread past criticism of Kardiner's theories.

Accuracy, logic and order have little place in this work, as random citations may show. "The basic personality [is] a product of the primary institutions. The secondary institutions, in turn, were derived from the basic personality . . ." (p. 14) "Our sex morality is a very old cultural lag" (p. 24). "Sex morality, therefore, must have the basic function of preventing irresponsible parenthood" (p. 25) "The automatic action of the fear of withdrawal and love [is] this mechanism we call conscience . . . The operation of conscience and its formation is still a very obscure subject" (p. 27)

But Kardiner and Ovesey evidently can penetrate, analyze and reveal the obscurity of obscurities and dogmatize it to death.

The authors give much space to explaining away religion, which they call "a universal social phenomenon which is the product of emotional rather than rational thinking" (p. 5) yet give hardly any lines to it in the long case histories of the 25 persons. Likewise, they generalize profusely on Negro sex life with abundant data without naming the source.

RAYMOND BERNARD, S.J.

CHRIST IN THE HOME.—By Raoul Plus, S.J. Frederick Pustet Co., 1951, 343 pp. \$4.00.

You open Father Plus's book and read the chapter headings, dozens of them: everything from "Marriage and a Life of Prayer" to "The Folly of Love out of Bounds." Your first thought is: what presumption. What possible expert, however divinely inspired, could offer sage advice on so many different problems and situations? Surely this must be a testament to miscellany; and though some of it promises to pierce the realm of the profound, most of it loiters in the provinces of the love-lorn columnist and the parent-teacher meeting.

Then you read the book and apologize. Happily Father Plus obeys the first law of all writing; he does it with ease and grace and liveliness, so that you've gone all through the fascinating dozens of chapters without ever again thinking: there are too many items on this menu.

He moves with equal competence from

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earth to heaven; from petty frictions and small family frustrations and the natural joy that makes them bearable, to the freer world of the supernatural and the complete awareness of God.

Of the 'natural' life and love of the married two, of their conduct as parents and lovers and friends, he writes with such earthy good humor, such intimate understanding and such inspired charity that you conclude it is perhaps the special talent of the French, this sly gift for exploring with insight and accuracy the virtues and faults of family life.

When married people read books as wonderfully God-conscious as—say—*The Seven Storey Mountain*, they do so with a feeling of wistful envy. This spiritual stratosphere is not for them. They are inclined to salvage from its message the single word, 'mountain'; and recollect that marriage is usually a long visit to a third floor flat. Father Plus knows this and says so. Yet he stubbornly cherishes his ideal. In every little chapter you can find it. There is a secret, of course, and the secret is giving Christ, as well as ourselves, house-room. Having done that, he promises that we can with Divine alacrity overtake and practice the ideal.

MONA SPEARING
St. Louis

THE REVOLT AGAINST REASON =

THE REVOLT AGAINST REASON.—
By Arnold Lunn. Sheed and Ward,
New York. 1951. xiv. 273 pp. \$3.25.

The thumbnail sketches of modern "isms" and arguments against them in Arnold Lunn's book, *The Revolt Against Reason*, give worthwhile information in a neat bundle and at the same time an interesting session in reading. For this reviewer—and I imagine there are many in the same circumstances—who has been away from study for a number of years and whose study in the first place necessarily embraced only a survey of many of the popular schools of thought, Mr. Lunn has given a useful analysis of the more recent trends in erroneous philosophies and a sound criticism of them.

Some twenty years ago Mr. Lunn wrote *The Flight From Reason*. This newer work is on the same theme but carries it further and reflects the author's later look at the subject following more study. Mr. Lunn's contention is with those he dubs "scientists," those "who believe that science confirms the supremacy of natural law, and refutes the belief in the supernatural." The first chapters deal with the beginnings of true rationalism, with early Christian philosophies, with the attitude both real and alleged of the medi-

val Church toward science, and with the effects of Lutheranism and later wanderings from logical thought.

Mr. Lunn's chief complaint against the "scientian" is that he will not attempt to prove by reason his blind faith in observable phenomena as supreme, to the exclusion of the supernatural. Even though evidence would warrant it, as Mr. Lunn points out, the case for the supernatural is not accorded a real scientific investigation. His conclusion naturally is that the modern "scientian" is insincere as a scientist because he will not look at all reality as it is manifested and does not, in the last analysis, practice what he preaches.

The author leads the reader interestingly through the various stages to which "scientism" has progressed to its latest incongruity in "logical positivism" which he describes as "the revolt against meaning."

The case for the agreement between science and the Catholic Church is well presented. The style, though entertaining, is sometimes involved, but by and large Mr. Lunn's meaning is clear. He has given a good account of scientific contribution by Catholic scientists. He may well be quoted in discussions with people met in everyday living who throw out the old arguments for "rationalism," Darwinism, and the related "isms."

CHARLOTTE PERABO
St. Louis, Mo.

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN

—By Carlton J. H. Hayes. Sheed & Ward, New York, 1951. 198 pp. \$2.75.

Professor Hayes has written this splendid book with both sympathy and knowledge of the Spanish people and their problems. The author is preeminently qualified to handle this important study. Mr. Hayes received his Bachelor's, Master's and Doctor's degrees at Columbia University, where he is the Seth Low Professor Emeritus of History. From 1942 to 1945 he was the American Ambassador to Spain. He has therefore a first-hand knowledge of the subject. Moreover, he understands the Spanish character, history, geography, as well as its general background. For this reason one feels the author is giving a first-hand account of what he saw in Spain. On the other hand, Mr. Hayes also knows his own countrymen and their sometimes biased ideas about Spain and her problems.

Personally, I liked the second and the sixth chapters best. The second chapter deals with some inveterate Anglo-Ameri-

can notions about Spain; the sixth chapter treats of the strange story of the United States relations with Spain since 1939. In these two chapters Mr. Hayes frankly admits the shortcomings of his own country and its government.

Our sincere hope is that this book and other works of this caliber will be widely read. It will certainly promote a more friendly understanding and peaceful relationship between the English- and Spanish-speaking peoples.

JORGE PEREZ, S.J.
Alma College
Alma, California

COMMENTS AND CASES ON HUMAN RELATIONS.—By F. K. Berrien. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951, pp. xi, 500. \$4.50.

Inspired by and supplementary to the work of the Donham-Mayo-Roethlisberger group at Harvard Business School, this practical casebook serves both as a text and a laboratory for their social-relations theories. Professor Berrien conceived the idea of a handbook of cases for human relations while studying at Harvard and developed it while teaching the Human Relations course at Colgate.

The theoretical framework for the analysis of the cases (which constitute the second half of the book) is a readable summary, done in popular, undergraduate style, of the current theories and fads in Social Psychology. Berrien's efforts at monosyllabizing the sophisticated theories of Janet, Fromm, Korzybski, Koffka, Dollard, Allport, Lewin, Sherif, Frenkel-Brunswik and the Harvard School result in somewhat of an oversimplification of an incredibly complicated field. He is determined however to "keep the cookies on the middle shelves" so that the college student can reach them. The theoretical cookies turn out to be something less than the whole, many-layered psycho-social cake.

One does secure nevertheless a good run-down of the main conceptual tools for use in human relations work: the basic semantics, motivational analysis, the frustration-aggression theory, social skills, informal codes, the meaning of attitudes, prejudice, authoritarianism, the techniques for re-education and readjustment of personality and the functions of group dynamics in developing the democratic personality.

With this terminological apparatus, the student is prepared to participate in a group discussion of the cases. All of these are real-life situations, both on-campus and off and cover a wide segment

of the field of human relations.

The appendix gives detailed instructions for the teacher in handling a course such as this by the discussion method, rather than by the straight lecture method. The use of non-directive counseling and sociometric techniques and a high degree of student participation are encouraged. Much of what goes by the name of being original in this whole new development, however, is but a new phase in the age-old pedagogical technique of evoking and stimulating student activity as a condition of learning. Both the new emphasis and this type of laboratory textbook are valuable contributions to the fast-developing science of human relations.

ALBERT S. FOLEY, S.J.
Institute of Social Order

VICTORY WITHOUT WAR.—By James P. Warburg. Farrar, Straus & Young, Inc., New York, N. Y., 1951, 73 pp. \$1.00.

Readers of SOCIAL ORDER who are interested in the all-important problem of securing world peace will find these North Law Lectures, delivered at Franklin and Marshall College, stimulating reading. In three chapters Mr. Warburg gives a critical analysis of our present policy, a re-examination of policy aims and an outline of principles of procedure.

The present policy of the United States is an over-simplified devil-theory—a negative policy directed primarily at stopping Russia from pursuing its own fiendish ends. Furthermore the Soviet threat is principally political and cannot, therefore, be contained by physical force. Yet this is the purpose of our military containment program.

To secure the two universal aspirations of mankind, release from fear of wars and freedom from the basic wants, the author urges the necessity of a supra-national world authority. But in the absence of such an authority, the Western World must rearm. However, while doing so, it must avoid all provocative acts, e.g., the rearming of Western Germany, strive to establish a supra-national authority and explore through negotiation how and where tensions may be relaxed.

In comparison with *Politics among Nations* by Professor Hans J. Morgenthau, parts of this book are, in the context of present world conditions, quite academic. Yet we feel that discussion aimed at developing the idea of a supra-national authority for the preservation of peace should be encouraged.

VIRGIL C. BLUM, S.J.
St. Louis University

SOCIAL ORDER

HEAVENS ON EARTH.—Utopian Communities in America 1680-1880. By Mark Holloway. Library Publishers, New York, 1951, xvi, 240 pp. \$4.75.

Mr. Holloway writes with a smooth, easily readable style. His introduction, however, is cynical and seemingly biased. He writes from a secularistic, if not atheistic, viewpoint: "There is little to choose between heavens above and heavens on earth." (p. 17) "The Promised Land, the Golden Age, Heaven, and Utopia represent myths that are common to all mankind." (p. 20) He is definitely anti-Catholic, e.g., "... the Roman Church had set herself against all such inflammatory doctrines as that of sharing property . . ." (p. 27) and, as we have come to expect, for the usual unhistorical reasons.

Despite these serious drawbacks, SOCIAL ORDER readers will discover, once past the introduction, a fascinating account of the various communal settlements in America from the first at Bohemia Manor in 1683 through the Mormon Orderville in 1874. Some of the leaders and settlements are well-known—Cabet, Fourier, Robert Owen, Brook Farm, New Harmony, Oneida and Icaria. These and many other less publicized groups and communities, their beliefs and motives, their achievements and failures are clearly and informatively pictured.

The book fills a definite need. Historians and sociologists will especially welcome this work as a contribution in a field wherein little has been written and that long ago.

JOHN J. HOODACK, S.J.
Weston College

THE FACTS OF LIFE: FROM BIRTH TO DEATH.—By Louis I. Dublin. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951, x, 461 pp. \$4.95.

A lifetime in the field of human biology has given the author unusual opportunities to observe, study and analyze a wide range of facts relating to man's health and welfare. During more than forty years in the service of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Louis Dublin has answered many questions on "the facts of life." Under his direction the Statistical Bureau of Metropolitan has for many years been gathering information on the well-being of its policyholders and the communities in which they live. Most students are acquainted with the Bureau's work through the reliable but popular summary of current studies presented in the monthly *Statistical Bulletin*,

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now in its thirty-second year.

The present volume offers to the public the results of these many years of research. The author has packed a truly astounding quantity of trustworthy information in this one book. The use of the question-and-answer technique lends itself to quick and ready reference. At the same time, the questions and answers have been arranged under general topic headings so as to present a fairly adequate treatment of specific topics such as population, birth, death, longevity, marriage, the family and so forth. A detailed and comprehensive index facilitates finding the answers to specific queries.

There is little doubt that teachers and students, physicians, health and social workers, as well as non-professionals who read to satisfy their curiosity will find this book stimulating and useful.

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.
Institute of Social Order

GOING IN THE SERVICE? (53 pp.) and NOW THAT YOU'RE IN SERVICE (61 pp.)—Young Christian Workers, 638 Deming Place, Chicago 14, Illinois, 1951. (No price).

Here are two valuable booklets of programs for Christian action by young servicemen just issued by Y.C.W. Quantity rates may be had from Y.C.W.

The first helps prepare senior students in high school for military service, while the other booklet concerns the religious welfare of men already drafted. Requests for such help have come from chaplains, servicemen, school principals, teachers, pastors and former servicemen.

The principle followed is to lead men in small groups to try to solve the problems they face: loneliness, discouragement, use of leisure, lack of respect for women, failure to write home, lack of contact with chaplains, loss of faith, attitude towards service duties, lack of preparation for return to civilian life.

MARRIAGE.—Fides Albums, Fides Publishers Association, Chicago, 1951, 22 pp. 25c.

The Marriage Album is the second Fides Album in a series of rotogravure booklets on liturgical themes. Originally published by *Les Editions Du Cerf*, Paris, these albums are being translated and adapted in the United States by Fides Publishers. The album is pleasingly illustrated with prints of the masters as well as with photographs of contemporary American

family life. The text accompanying the pictures gives a clear and adequate explanation of the meaning of marriage so

that this album should prove of great assistance to teachers, marriage counselors and Cana directors.

LETTERS

"Worth Reading"—An Opinion

I enjoyed the February and April issues very much. Yet I would like to see the "Worth Reading" briefs include journals that one does not ordinarily see—French and German periodicals dedicated to the social problem.

R. F. DRINAN

Weston, Mass.

Delight

We can hardly say how much we enjoy your monthly! We are delighted with its breadth of interests and the competence of the articles

DAN and MARY CECILIA KANE
Loveland, O.

The Enterprise

I must congratulate you on the last issue of SOCIAL ORDER. The symposium on the enterprise is excellent. In my economics classes I have reserved these last classes for the study of some points from *Quadragesimo Anno*, among others the principle of subsidiarity. Your May issue came at a most opportune time.

JOHN C. BLOMMENSTEIN
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana

Concept of Work

Congratulations on the concise and balanced statement of a thoroughly Christian concept of work ("Leisure and Work," by Francis J. Corley, April, p. 147 ff.). I found it a most competent and profitable treatment of a problem whose complexities often lead to solutions which are either over-idealized or too pessimistic.

STEVEN EDWARDS
Baltimore, Md.

Useful Survey

. . . The "Year of Small Gains" (March, p. 115-119) survey of developments in race relations for 1951 is excellent and most useful

JOSEPH B. SCHUYLER
Woodstock, Md.

Thorough Reader

Each month I read SOCIAL ORDER through, sometimes enjoying the articles immensely, occasionally having to admit they are too technical for me, but always finding them challenging. The February issue on the family was one of the best you have put out (Father Thomas' article especially). It was typical of what one expects of the Institute of Social Order, the result of cooperation of experts in a number of fields.

I wish the editors would work out a good study of Senator McCarthy. Many of the Senator's apologists seem to work on the principle (implicit or explicit) that the end justifies the means.

Father Nolan made several references to *The Freeman* in his article, "The Totalitarian 'Liberal'" (April, p. 99). My impression of that magazine (gathered, it is true, from a single issue—I couldn't stand it and haven't picked up another since) is that it is an ultra-conservative periodical whose guiding principle is that the government should take its hands out of all private affairs and *laissez faire*. The crusading spirit of the magazine seemed to be fed from the fires of hatred of F.D.R. and all his works and kin.

J. J. RUDDICK

St. Louis, Mo.

Acknowledgments

P. 247: Simone Weil, *The Need for Roots*, G. P. Putnam's, New York, 1952, p. 43.
P. 252: Dom Aelred Graham, *Catholicism and the World Today*, David McKay Co., New York, 1952, pp. 29-30.
P. 278: Whittaker Chambers, *Witness*, Random House, 1952, p. 83.

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Worth Reading

George H. Dunne, S.J., "Responsibility of Business," *Catholic Mind*, 50 (February, 1952) 79-93.

Text of an address delivered before the convention of the Iowa Bankers' Association, Des Moines, Iowa, October 24, 1951, correlating privilege with responsibility and indicating areas of needed improvement in the conduct of American business-men.

Ed Willock, "The Expand-Parenthood Association," *Integrity*, 6 (April, 1952) 30-39.

Here the father of eight children discusses "the threat of overpopulation in the world" and judges it by Christian standards; he concludes that "if family values seen in a Christian light were once again to animate the customs, habits and legislation of this country, the traditional vitality of Christendom would be restored, and our culture would be secure from the threat of suicide within and attack without."

Gerald Kelly, S.J., "Rhythm in Marriage: Duty and Idealism," *America*, 87 (May 3, 1952) 128-30.

Emphasizes the significant difference between obligation and the opportunity to do more than is strictly obligatory in the matter of childbearing.

Charles Malik, "From a Friend of the West," *Life*, 32 (March 31, 1952) 53-64.

An explanation of the Marxist appeal to Asiatics, who find in it many attractive ideas: its pragmatic support of nationalism, demands for land reform, its approach to the people, its total view of man and the world.

Austin A. D'Souza and Binod U. Rao, "The Two Faces of India: Nehru and Marx—Vinoba and Gandhi," *United Nations World*, 6 (May, 1952) 20-23.

According to D'Souza, of St. Joseph's College, Naini Tal, Nehru passionately believes in democracy and is "too much a disciple of Gandhi to accept the communist ethic that the end justifies the means." He is aware of misery and fear in Soviet methods but "firmly believes that India's future lies with socialism." Nehru is hated by the Indian communists.

Here Vinoba is shown as a native leader who presents a more helpful plan than communist programs (see "Trends," March, 1952, p. 127, "Land Program of Bhave").

Charles Malik, "The Near East: the Search for Truth," *Foreign Affairs*, 30 (January, 1952) 231-64.

"There is abroad in the Near East today a new critical spirit. It is dissatisfied with the given and is not afraid to voice its dissatisfaction. There is health and hope and freedom only in the daring knowledge and confession of the truth, whatever risks it may involve." This fascinating survey of the Near East traces political and economic development, internal relationships and those with the West. The West, Malik charges, *has shown lack of unity, of responsibility, of sincerity, of understanding, of charity*.

John A. Fitch, "Labor's Expanding Horizon," *Survey*, 88 (April, 1952) 151-55.

This article by an expert and close observer covers some of the points mentioned in SOCIAL ORDER for February ("Trends," p. 87-88, "New Horizons for the Unions") but details especially the international influence of American labor.

Noel P. Gist, "Developing Patterns of Urban Decentralization," *Social Forces*, 30 (March, 1952) 257-67.

Ecological changes are now showing a new centrifugal movement as against the former suburban trend. This study is based on incomplete data from a Missouri county.

"Ethical Standards in American Public Life," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1952.

Among the contributors to this symposium are Estes Kefauver, H. H. Humphrey, Joseph A. Loftus, Charles P. Taft, Paul H. Douglas and many others. The article treating "the influence of the Church," by F. Ernest Johnson of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States, is interesting particularly because of its inadequacy.

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